From *Revue des études arméniennes* 35 (2013).
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IN THE CEMETERY OF THEIR ANCESTORS: THE ROYAL BURIAL TOMBS OF THE BAGRATUNI KINGS OF GREATER ARMENIA (890-1073/79)

by

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The Bagratuni (Bagratid) kings of Greater Armenia (884-1045) left behind a wealthy cultural heritage that has largely come to be identified by their extensive building programs in the central Ararat valley. Their patronage extended into both the ecclesiastical and secular spheres, although much of the architecture from this period has unfortunately not survived. Of curious interest is the fate of the royal mausoleum of the Bagratuni kings. The mausoleum was an attestation to the glory of the kingdom and conjures in the imagination a structure that perhaps matched the great churches of Ani, the former metropolis and illustrious capital of the medieval kingdom, in magnificence, serving as a monument to the ambitious Bagratuni rulers. While the textual and archaeological record regarding the final repository of the Bagratuni monarchs is extremely obscure, incomplete, and contradictory, two contending sites have thus far been postulated: Ani and Hoṛomos (Hoṛomosivankʿ, Łošavankʿ, Xošavankʿ), a tenth-century monastic ensemble located approximately fifteen kilometers northeast of Ani along a bend on the right bank of the Akhurian (Arpaçay) River (see maps 1 and 2). To date, many have generally accepted, if not wholeheartedly embraced, Hoṛomos over Ani.[1] The presence of a single

* A condensed version of this article was delivered at the International Congress of Medieval Studies held at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo on May 9, 2013. I should like to acknowledge the generous help of Professors Levon Chookaszian, Robert H. Hewsen and Dickran Kouymjian, who read drafts of this article and offered valuable insight, Shushan Karapetian, Steven Sim, Ms. Dale Stieber at the Special Collections Department of Occidental College, as well as the ebullient support offered by my friends in the Los Angeles and Montreal communities.

[1] For example, see Leo [A. Babakhanian], *Ani, tpavorutʿyunner, hišatakner, ancʿacn u mnacʿacĕ* [Ani, impressions, recollections, the past and what remains] (Erevan, 1963), 126-32; H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 2 vols. (London, 1901), 1: 387-90;

dedicatory inscription commissioned by King Yovhannēs-Smbat on one of the chapels at Hoṛomos and the existence of a sarcophagus, now-demolished, purported to have held the remains of King Ašot III, have served as strong arguments to suggest it as the location of the royal mausoleum. The literary testimonia, derived wholly from Armenian writers, however, is so at odds with the archaeological record that it indicates that the royal mausoleum was located within the fortified bounds of Ani. This conflict in the sources has been compounded by scholarly preference for one site over the other, as most have passed over these glaring discrepancies without so much as even discussing them.[2] This study, therefore, seeks to review the question, collate all the evidence available on the mausoleum and to determine, if possible, where, when and how it was built.[3]

J. M. Thierry, *Le couvent arménien d'Horomos* (Leuven-Paris, 1980), 2, 81; and more generally, T'. T'oramanyan, *Orn ē iskakan Hoṛomosi vank'ē? (Hnagitakan usumnasirut'iwn)* [Which is the real monastery of Hoṛomos? (An archaeological study)] (Alexandropol, 1911), 16; repr. in *idem*, *Nyut'er Haykakan čartarapetut'yan patmut'yan* [Materials for the history of Armenian Architecture], 2 vols. (Erevan, 1942, 1948), 1: 305; N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. and rev. N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1970), 241; P. Cuneo et al., *Ani*, Documenti di architettura armena/Documents of Armenian Architecture, 12 (Milan, 1984), 17, 18; N. G. Garsoïan, "The History of Armenia," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, eds. T. F. Mathews and R. S. Wieck (New York, 1998), 11; and most recently R. H. Hewsen, "The Historical Geography of Ani and Kars," in *Armenian Kars and Ani*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series: Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, 10 (Costa Mesa, CA, 2011), 33. The French traveler C. F. M. Texier, who visited the region in the 1840s, went so far as to call it the Armenian Saint-Denis (s.v. "Hoṛomosi vank'," [Hoṛomos monastery] *HSH* 6: 547-48).

[2] A few authors have briefly discussed the problem, including M. F. Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1860-61), 1: 61-63; N. Y. Marr, "Ani, stolitsa drevneii Armenii (Istoriko-arkhelogičeskii nabrosok)," in *Bratskaya pomošč postradavšim v Turtsii armyanam*, 2nd ed., ed. G. A. Džanšiev (Moscow, 1898), 202; T'. X. Hakobyan, *Anii patmut'yun* [History of Ani], 2 vols. (Erevan, 1980, 1982), 1: 261-63; 2: 220-22. Ł. Inčičean, *Hnaxōsut'iwn ašxarhagrakan Hayastaneac' ašxarhi* [Archaeology of geographic Armenia], 3 vols. (Venice, 1835), 2: 103, gives a partial list of the burials of several Bagratuni princes and kings but does not add any of his insight nor acknowledge the existence of the discrepancies.

[3] In this respect this study has been influenced by the articles of G. Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *JHS* 79 (1959), 27–51; P. Grierson's, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)," *DOP* 16 (1962), 3–63; and T. Allen, "The Tombs of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs in Baghdād," *BSOAS* 46 (1983), 421-31.

Princely Antecedants

The first part of this study will mainly focus on the primary source material and will be interspersed with brief historical overviews of each Bagratuni king a propos the correlation between their building activities, their personal ambitions, where identifiable, and the circumstances of their death and burial. It is necessary to recall that the first Bagratuni kings had experienced serious difficulty in establishing themselves at a permanent residence. Territorial disputes and power struggles with the neighboring Muslim emirates, combined with brief but devastating civil wars and the threat of Byzantine expansion into the Armenian realms in the early tenth century, had compelled the court to relocate successively from one town to another. In its 161-year history the kingdom had no less than four seats of residence. King Ašot I's was Bagaran; Kings Smbat I and his son Ašot II ruled from Erazgavorkʿ (Erazgavors, Širakawan); while King Abas transferred his capital to Kars during his reign. It was only in 961, several years into the reign of Abas' successor Ašot III, that Ani was proclaimed the royal capital, where it remained until the kingdom's annexation by the Byzantines in 1045.[4] These peregrinations proved to be a serious stumbling block for the first kings, for they were never able to build stable political, administrative, and institutional bases from which to rule from. What is more, no single town or city, at least in the first half of its history, ever came to be closely identified with the kingdom as a whole. Such a cohesive element binding the people of the Armenian Plateau to the Bagratuni kingdom was noticeably absent. The kingdom's decentralized political structure was dominated by localized spheres of power and led by a number of *naxarar* (princely) families; the Bagratunis merely being the foremost among them.

It should also be borne in mind that from 963 onward Greater Armenia was composed of and effectively subdivided into several kingdoms. With the exception of Siwnikʿ and Vaspurakan in southern Armenia, which were ruled by the Siwni and Arcruni princes respectively, these sub-kingdoms were all headed by the cadet branches of the Bagratunis. While the Bagratuni at Ani were recognized as the nominal heads of the monarchy, there were regional strongholds held by rulers who professed strong centrifugal

[4] For a succinct historical outline of the history of the Armenian kingdoms consult N. G. Garsoïan's chapters, "The Independent Kingdoms of Medieval Armenia" and "The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms in the Eleventh Century," both in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times: The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian, 2 vols. (New York, 1998), 1: 143-98.

tendencies in Gardman-Paṛisos (Northern Arcʿax), Kars (Vanand, Basaynkʿ), and Loṛi (Loṛi-Tašir/Tašir-Joraget, led by the Kiwrikian kings). Such was the political fragmentation of Armenia at the time that these branches of the Bagratuni family exercised a significant degree of autonomy and were able to maintain their distance from their suzerains at Ani.

Ašot I (ca. 819-90),[5] the first Bagratuni king, was conferred with a crown by the ʻAbbāsid caliph and title of King of Armenia in 884, after holding the office of *išxanacʿ išxan* (prince of princes) for more than twenty years. Though Armenia remained under Arab suzerainty, Ašot's six-year reign is described in glowing terms and presented as a period of stability and revival by one of his contemporaries, the Catholicos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi (ca. 845-929/30).[6] The king chose the town of Bagaran, situated to the south of Ani, on the right bank of the Akhurian River in the province of Ayrarat, as his royal seat (*tʿagaworanist*) and upon his death in 890 was buried there. We are fortunate to have a vivid account of his burial by Drasxanakertcʿi (ca. 845-929/30):

> Since he died on the road, in an inn at a rocky place called Kʿarspaṛn, they carried away his body in a coffin and brought it to the town (*awan*) of Bagaran, the royal residence, where they covered the coffin with robes and veils interwoven and adorned with gold; and carefully selected detachments of military forces clad in arms and ornaments stood guard. The great katholikos, accompanied by the rest of the clerics of the church, also came forth and solemnly chanted psalms and raised the voice of [their] praise. His three sons, the senior [*gaherecʿ*] princes of the royal house and other friends followed the coffin, and thus they arrived at the cemetery….Then, building a tomb [suitable] for royalty, they buried him in the cemetery of his ancestors.[7]

[5] Vardan Arewelcʿi, *Hawakʿumn Patmutʿean Vardanay Vardapeti* [The historical compilation of Vardan Arevelcʿi], ed. Ł. Ališan, (Venice 1862), facsimile reproduction, with new introduction by R. W. Thomson (Delmar, New York, 1991), 86. Armenian historians and chroniclers generally neglect to mention the precise dates of birth or death of Armenian kings and so we are exceptionally fortunate if even an age is produced in the sources. For the genealogy of the Bagratuni princes and kings, including members of the extended branches who ruled the sub-kingdoms of Kars and Loṛi, see C. Toumanoff, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasie chrétienne: Arménie, Géorgie, Albanie* (Rome, 1976), 96-113.

[6] On Ašot I, see H. Daghbaschean, *Gründung des Bagratidenreiches durch Aschot Bagratuni* (Berlin, 1893); H. Thoptschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I* (Berlin, 1904). On the ascendancy of the Bagratuni family, see N. G. Garsoïan, "The Arab Invasions and the Rise of the Bagratuni (640-884)," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, 1: 117-42.

[7] "*Եւ վասն զի ՚ի ճանապարհի յիվևանս ՚ի Քարսպատն կոչեցեալ տեղ ապառաժի եձև նորայն վախճան, բարձեալ ապա զիակիր դագաղօք՝ տարան զնա ՚ի Թագաւորանիստ աւանն Բագարան, ոսկեհուռն հանդերձիւք և ոսկեզօծ վառիւք զդագաղն զարդարեալ. և խումբք*

Drasxanakertcʻi's description is an invaluable source on royal burial customs during this period. But what stands out particularly in this passage is his comment regarding Bagaran as the location of the cemetery of Ašot's ancestors (*i kʻnarani harcʻ iwrocʻ*). It contradicts the accounts of earlier Armenian historians who stated that the Bagratuni family sepulcher was in Dariwnkʻ (Darewnkʻ, Dariwns, Bāyazīd, three kilometers southeast of modern day Doğubeyazit in Turkey),[8] a fortress-town in the district of Kogovit (Gogovit) in the province of Ayrarat. The first such references are encountered in the *History* commonly attributed to the bishop Sebeos (fl. mid-seventh century). The author briefly recounts the tenure of Smbat Bagratuni, a prince in the service of the Sasanian Empire, and states that, following his death in 616/17, his body was brought to "the land of Armenia to his ancestral sepulchere and placed…in a tomb in the village of Dariwnkʻ, which is in the province of Gogovit."[9] Interestingly enough, Drasxanakertcʻi himself repeats this information in the early part of his history, but he neglects to say that the Bagratuni mausoleum was located there: "They brought his body to Armenia and buried him in Dariwnkʻ, which is in [the district of] Kog [Gogovit]."[10] Sebeos later mentions the interment of Varaztirocʻ, the *aspet* (cavalry commander) and the son of Smbat, there in 645.[11] The Armenian priest and historian Łewond, writing

զօրաց գինուք և զարդուք, ընտրանօք շուրջ պաշտպանեալք մեծի կաթողիկոսին, և այլ ևս կղերց եկեղեցւոյ առաջի ևս գնացեալ՝ զխաչակրօն սաղմոսերգութիւնս և զձայնս օրհնութեանց նուագէին: Իսկ երեք որդիք նորա՝ գահերէցք տան արքունի, և այլ ևս բարեկամք հետամտէին զկնի գագաղացն….Եւ այսպէս հասեալք ՚ի տեղին….Եւ ապա կազմեալ տապան թագաւորական՝ եդին գնա ՚ի քնարանի հարց իւրոց": Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi [John Catholicos], *Yovhannu katʻołikosi Drasxanakertecʻwoy Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, ed. G. B. Tʻosunyan (Erevan, 1996), 144-46; trans. K. H. Maksoudian, *History of Armenia*, Occasional Papers and Proceedings 3 (Atlanta, 1987), 130.

Medieval Armenian historians typically used a number of generally interchangeable words to refer to a cemetery, sepulcher, resting place, vault and tomb, including *gerezman*, *hangstaran*, *kʻnaran*, and *tapanatun*.

[8] The seventeenth-century Armenian chronicler Yakob Karnecʻi (V. A. Hakobyan, *Manr žamankagrutʻyunner, XIII-XVIII dd.* [Minor Chronicles, XIII–XVIII centuries], 2 vols. [Erevan, 1951, 1956], 2: 555) says the fortress of Hasankale (modern Pasinler in Turkey), east of the city of Erzerum, was called Darunkʻ in the Armenian tongue, although it is clear that this town should not be confused with the one in Kogovit.

[9] "*Իսկ զնմարմին նորա մեռեալ՝ տարան ի Հայաստան երկիր ի բնիկ հանգստարանսն, և եդին ի տապանի ի գիւղն Դարիւնս, որ է Գոգովիտ գաւառի*": Sebeos, *Patmutʻiwn Sebeosi*, ed. G. V. Abgaryan, (Erevan, 1979), 104; trans. and historical commentary by R. W. Thomson and J. D. Howard-Johnston, with assistance from T. Greenwood, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, 2 vols., Translated Texts for Historians 31 (Liverpool, 1999), 1: 54.

[10] "*Եւ բարձեալ տարան զնմարմին նորա ՚ի Հայք՝ և դնեն ՚ի Դարոյնս, որ ՚ի Կոգ գաւառի*": Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, 76; trans. Maksoudian, *History of Armenia*, 97.

[11] Sebeos, *Patmutʻiwn Sebeosi*, 144.

in the late eighth century, also notes that the presiding prince of Armenia Ašot II Bagratuni (685-89) was buried there.[12] That the mausoleum was still in use during Łewond's time is attested in his *History* when he records the burial in Dariwnkʿ of the presiding prince Ašot Bagratuni III (d. 761/62).[13]

It is difficult to say just when the Bagratunis had acquired Kogovit and Dariwnkʿ. The earliest source to speak about the family in connection to these two sites is Sebeos, but aside from the frustratingly laconic comments quoted above the author has nothing else to add. In the centuries preceding the Arab conquests the Bagratunis were in possession of extensive landholdings spread throughout Armenia, which over time came to include the districts of Bagrewand, Kogovit, Sper, Tʿmorik, and possibly Gołtʿn.[14] Up until the late fourth century A.D., the district of Kogovit was found firmly within the boundaries of the Armenian Aršakuni (Arsacid) kingdom; Dariwnkʿ was where the royal treasury was stored, and its fortress was so formidable that it served as a place of sanctuary for the Aršakuni kings during times of crisis.[15] When the Aršakuni kingdom was partitioned between the Roman and the Sasanian empires in 384/7, Kogovit ostensibly passed under the control of the latter, which in turn ceded it to Byzantium in the second partition of Armenia in 591. By most accounts it appears that the Bagratunis personally took hold of the region sometime after the abolishment of the kingdom.[16] And though not clearly stated in sources until the late eighth century,[17] a number of modern authors describe Dariwnkʿ as the *ostan* (seat of residence) of the family by the seventh century.[18] The circumstances revolving around the Bagratunis' decision to select Dariwnkʿ as the site of their family sepulcher are likewise

[12] Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn Łewondeay Meci Vardapeti Hayocʿ*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg, 1887), 18.

[13] Ibid., 124. Ašot III was the nephew of Ašot II.

[14] C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington D.C., 1963), 321-24; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, Nouvelle édition revue et mise à jour par M. Canard (Lisbon, 1980), 123.

[15] Pʿawstos Buzand, *Pʿawstosi Buzandacʿwoy Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, ed. Kʿ. Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1883); *Buzandaran patmutʿiwnkʿ* [Epic histories], facsimile reproduction, with new introduction by N. G. Garsoïan (Delmar, New York, 1985), IV.xl, 130.

[16] Toumanoff, *Studies*, 202, 322-24, note 77, asserted that the Bagratunis had actually been in possession of Kogovit since the time of the Eruanduni (Orontid) kings (ca. 330-190 B.C.), though there is no direct evidence to substantiate this.

[17] Łewond, 16.

[18] M. Hovhannēsian, *Hayastani berderě* [The fortresses of Armenia] (Venice, 1970), 833–37; Adontz, *Armenia*, 241-42; T. A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, 4 vols. (London, 1987), 1: 394-97.

uncertain.[19] Given the political significance of Dariwnkʿ as the court of the Bagratunis, however, it would stand to reason that the members of the family had chosen to be buried at their new seat of residence. While the date of this decision is not given either, Sebeos' wording would seem to indicate that at the very least two generations of members of the Bagratuni family had been buried at Dariwnkʿ prior to the death of Prince Smbat Bagratuni, which would imply that the sepulcher had been in use from at least the sixth century.

The literary sources are just as unhelpful when speaking about the nature of the sepulcher. They neither provide a visual description of what it looked like nor specify in what part of the town it was found in. The same applies to the physical evidence, or lack thereof, for with perhaps the exception of the fortress (Vasa Kalesi, Doğubeyazit Kalesi), virtually nothing has survived of medieval Dariwnkʿ.[20] Despite this, the Bagratuni tombs there in all probability differed little from other gravesites in medieval Armenia that were reserved for the nobility. As N. Garsoïan and T. Greenwood have already pointed out, princely dynasts during this period were generally buried in the same place, in what was a clear holdover of ancient Iranian burial practices.[21] Their tombs were typically located near the grounds of a church or a chapel that the princes had

[19] In addition to falling on a busy trade route, the move to Dariwnkʿ perhaps can be seen in light of the long-standing rivalry that existed between the Armenian *naxarars* in the period following the appointment of a Sasanian *marzpan* (viceroy) in 428: with Armenia now deprived of a monarchy and governed as a province of the Sasanian Empire, the Bagratunis aspired to assume the mantle of national leadership and their conspicuous association with such a prominent site once linked to the Aršakuni dynasts would undoubtedly have served to enhance their stature alongside the other *naxarar* families.

[20] R. W. Edwards, "The Fortress at Doğubeyazit (Daroynkʿ)," *REArm* 18 (1984), 435-59. After a thorough inspection of the area around Doğubeyazit, Edwards concluded that Dariwnkʿ was probably never enclosed by a circuit wall. Such a deficiency would have left the town and the surrounding villages easily exposed to attack and pillaging. The town suffered irreversible damage during the Kurdish insurrection of 1930, when it was destroyed by the Turkish army.

[21] N. G. Garsoïan, "The Locus of the Death of Kings: Iranian Armenia — The Inverted Image," in *The Armenian Image in History and Literature*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian, Studies in Near Eastern Culture and Society 3 (Malibu, CA, 1981), 43-44; T. Greenwood, "A Corpus of Early Medieval Armenian Inscriptions," *DOP* 58 (2004), 58-59.

By way of example, the princes and ladies of the Arcruni line were invariably buried at the sixth-century Monastery of the Holy Cross (Surb Xačʿ vankʿ/Joradiri Surb Ējmiacin) in the village of Ōsi in the district of Ałbak of Vaspurakan in the decades leading to their establishment of the Arcruni kingdom: see the references in Tʿovma Arcruni's history on the family, *Patmutʿiwn tann Arcruneacʿ* [History of the Arcruni House], ed. V. M. Vardanyan (Erevan, 1985), 310, 318, 338, 354, 356, 384, and the studies on the church by P. Cuneo, "L'eglise de Saint-Etchmiadzine à Soradir dans le Vaspurakan," *REArm* 5

founded or otherwise held some connection to their house. The construction of churches was a popular activity among secular lords who wished to secure divine intercession and public commemoration for themselves and their families. In the certain instances where a martyrium was adjoined to such a complex, the mausoleum would also serve as a venue for pilgrimage.[22] The nobility would also gradually come to be entombed beneath the floor of a *žamatun* (a narthex or reception room that was always joined to the western end of a church or monastery; also known as a *gavitʿ*) and sometimes inside churches but, as a rule, never inside the sanctuary.[23] The tombs of more wealthy donors were surmounted by intricately decorated gravestones. They were predominantly carved out of tufa or other igneous rocks and adorned with symbolic motifs and elaborate designs.[24] There was usually a brief epitaph that identified the occupant

(1968), 91-108, and T. Breccia Fratadocchi, *La Chiesa di S. Ejmiacin a Soradir* (Rome, 1971). The monastery stands in ruins today.

[22] The tenth-century Mšo Sultʿan Surb Karapet monastic complex in the province of Tarōn was until recently but one example of this: see C. Maranci, "The Art and Architecture of Baghesh/Bitlis and Taron/Mush" in *Armenian Baghesh/Bitlis and Taron*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series: Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, 2 (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 122–24. The vaults of at least three Mamikonean princes and, quite surprisingly, one from the Kamsarakan family were still preserved when H. F. B. Lynch visited Mush in November 1893 (Lynch, *Armenia*, 2: 179): "The body of the church immediately adjoins [the chapels]; it is spacious but not remarkable for architectural beauty or richness of format….Slabs, inlaid in the floor, cover the graves of princes and warriors, of whom we read in the pages of Armenian history. The blood wars against the Sasanians are recalled by the tombs of Mushegh, of Vahan the Wolf and Sembat. The grave of Vahan is denoted by a black slab of stone, before the entrance to the more southerly of the two chapels. That of Sembat is said to be situated near the threshold of the companion sanctuary, which is dedicated to St. Stephen. Near the wall on the south repose the remains of Vahan Kamsarakan. Slabs are wanting in the case of the two graves last mentioned. Inscriptions are found, I believe, on some." Not mentioned by Lynch is the tomb of the eleventh-century prince Toṛnik Mamikonean. The entire monastic complex currently stands in ruins, having been destroyed during the Armenian Genocide in 1915: R. H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001), 206, fig. 195.

[23] V. A. Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk Hayocʿ* [Book of Armenian canons], 2 vols. (Erevan, 1964, 1971), 1: 486; N. V. Melikʿ Tʿangean, *Hayocʿ ekełecʿakan irawunkʿě* [Armenian ecclesiastical law], 2 vols. (Tehran, 2004), 1: 334. There were, perhaps predictably, some exceptions to this rule. The thirteenth-century prince Ēlikum Ōrbēlian was entombed in the sanctuary of the Chapel of St. Gregory at the monastic complex in Noravankʿ in Siwnikʿ (fig. 3). Catholicos Philippos (1632-55) was buried in the sanctuary at the Church of St. Hṛipʿsimē in Ējmiacin. Saints were exempt from the rule and were buried near the altar or vestry, even though a canon attributed to St. Gregory the Illuminator explicitly forbids this practice. I am very grateful to Father Krikor Maksoudian for bringing these points to my attention.

[24] S. S. Mnacʿakanyan, *Haykakan vał mijnadaryan memorial hušarjannerě* [Early medieval Armenian memorial monuments] (Erevan, 1982), 56-57, 105-07; S. G. Barxudaryan

of the grave.[25] In the course of the next few centuries, the design and form of these gravestones changed significantly. By the ninth to tenth centuries, they assumed a "cradle-type" appearance which featured the outline of a human being and, with the exception of a *xačʿkʿar* (cross stone) that was mounted on a pedestal on the eastern end of the grave, no overt decoration.[26] Few medieval-era tombs have survived today (figs. 1-5).

Among these characteristics, the one that holds any actual relevance to the Dariwnkʿ sepulcher is the practice of being buried in or within the vicinity of a *žamatun* or church. In a passage in his *History*, Łewond mentions that the presiding prince Ašot II had a church built during his time in office, which he embellished with an icon of Christ's Incarnation that was imported from the West and purported to have miraculous powers.[27] The name of the church has not been recorded but several scholars have identified it as Surb Amenapʿṙkičʿ (Holy Redeemer or All-Savior). But though tempting to place, as Mnacʿakanyan has done,[28] the Bagratuni sepulcher near the vicinity of this church, it must be remembered that the mausoleum antedated the church's construction by almost seventy years. It is possible that the church may have been built near the sepulcher, although it is almost impossible to establish anything since physical evidence of either structure has not survived.[29]

The references in the written sources to the Dariwnkʿ mausoleum disappear after Łewond's history. By this time, the late eighth and early ninth centuries, however, the Bagratunis' hold on central Armenia had become tenuous. Although the family had attained primacy among the other *naxarar* clans, they remained ever mindful of the threat posed by the 'Abbāsid

and G. H. Karaxanyan, "Haykakan gerezmanakan hušarjanneṙ ew nrancʿ kʿandaknerě," [Armenian burial monuments and their sculpture] *PBH* 4 (1959), 195-210; J. Strzygowski, *Die baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1918), 1, 255-61; A. A. Manučʿaryan, *Kʿnnutʿyun Hayastani IV-XI dareri šinararakan vkayagreri* [An analysis of documents pertaining to building activities in IV–XI century Armenia] (Erevan, 1977), 44-46; s.v. "Tapanakʿar," [Tomb] *HSH*, 11, 575-76; see also the entries "Arcosolium", 1, 340-41; "Mausoleum," *ODB*, 2, 1320; "Tomb," *ODB*, 3, 2092.

[25] The opening line of an epitaph on a medieval Armenian tombstone typically began with "*Այս է հանգիստ...*" ("Here is the resting place of…").

[26] Barxudaryan and Karaxanyan, "Haykakan gerezmanakan hušarjanneṙ," 198. On *xačʿkʿars* see I. Giulio, *Khatchkar: Armenian Cross-stones*, Centro studi e documentazione della cultura Armena, Milano (Venice, 1981) and H. Petrosyan, *Xačʿkʿar* (Erevan, 2008).

[27] Łewond, 16.

[28] Mnacʿakanyan, *Haykakan*, 56.

[29] Edwards, "Fortress at Doğubeyazit," 440, has nevertheless not ruled out the likelihood that Doğubeyazit's Selim Camii mosque was built on the Holy Redeemer's foundations.

caliphate and the Muslim emirates in southern Armenia and in the area around Lake Van, as well as the Arab *ostikan* (governor) based in Dwin in the lower Araxes valley. The abortive rebellions of 703, 749-50, and 771-72 had reminded the Armenian princes of the reach and the forces the caliphate was still capable of marshaling to crush any challenges to its rule. But the ambivalent position that the Bagratunis had adopted stood out in stark comparison to the more confrontational and pro-Byzantine policies of the other Armenian *naxarar* families such as the Kamsarakans and Mamikoneans, which had directly led to their rapid decline and near complete disappearance. This weakening had permitted the Bagratunis to expand their landholdings, the most significant acquisitions being in the areas of northern and central Armenia, namely the contiguous districts of Širak and Aršarunikʿ.[30] With these acquisitions, the Bagratunis lost little time in relocating to the more secure reaches of the Armeno-Iberian marchlands. According to Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi (also known as Asołik), a historian writing in the early eleventh century, after Ašot Msaker Bagratuni (d. 826) obtained Aršarunikʿ from the Kamsarakans, the Bagratunis transferred their court there from Kogovit.[31] While the Bagratunis spent the better part of the ninth century consolidating their position in northern Armenia, Kogovit seems to have slipped into the hands of the rival Arcruni family, whose domains were centered in Vaspurakan, or into one of those of the lower Armenian houses. With their geographical position so radically altered the family's links to Dariwnkʿ were apparently severed. Indeed, the literary sources make no reference to the mausoleum or the burial of any Bagratuni family until the death of King Ašot I at the end of the century.

Royal Burials

How then are we to reconcile these facts with Drasxanakertcʿi's comment that Ašot I was buried in the "cemetery of his ancestors"? Unfortunately, the multiple problems that were encountered in our examination of the mausoleum at Dariwnkʿ resurface in our study of the one at Bagaran. The meager information on Bagaran does not specify during what period the town was proclaimed the Bagratuni *ostan* (in the years prior to when Ašot I was bestowed with the title of *išxanacʿ išxan* (ca. 862)? on its eve?

[30] Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 1: 48-54.

[31] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi (Asołik), *Stepʿanosi Taronecʿwoy Patmutʿiwn Tiezerakan* [The Universal History of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi], ed. S. Malxaseancʿ (St. Petersburg, 1885), 106.

in the early part of Ašot I's reign?).[32] It is conceivable that members of the Bagratuni house began to be interred there after it was proclaimed the seat of residence, perhaps sometime in the early to mid-ninth century. Such a contention would support the view that the sepulcher at Dariwnkʿ was no longer within living memory by the time of Ašot's burial and that the one at Bagaran had replaced it as the new ancestral mausoleum. But there also lies the tantalizing possibility that the tombs at Dariwnkʿ were transplanted to the new capital. In the *Epic Histories*, a work attributed to the fifth-century writer Pʿawstos Buzand, the author relates the story of the Sasanian attempt to appropriate the bones of the Armenian Arsacid kings from their mausoleum in Ani-Kamax during the Armenian-Iranian war of the 360s A.D. with the intention of taking them back to Persia. Before they were able to accomplish this, an Armenian force intercepted them, retrieved the bones and brought them to the village of Ałcʿ (Ałcʿkʿ, now Jorapʿ, in the Republic of Armenia), where they are preserved to this day (figs. 6, 7).[33] The Zoroastrian Sasanians, as Pʿawstos states and as Garsoïan has elaborated in greater detail, believed that the *Kayvan xwarrah*, the otherworldly ethos of "royal glory" (the Armenian *pʿaṛkʿ*), not only accompanied the person of the legitimate ruler who sat on the throne but also "clung" onto his bones long after his death.[34] Though Pʿawstos derides the belief as pagan, it is obvious that the Christian Armenian troops who liberated the bones attached just as much, if not greater, spiritual and symbolic importance to the remains as the Sasanians. Whether Armenians still adhered to such beliefs in the ninth century is difficult to ascertain, even in spite of the fact that the concept of the *xwarrah* is alluded to in Persian sources from as late as the tenth century.[35] That the

[32] A. N. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, trans. N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1976), 59, states that Ašot had chosen Bagaran as the capital of the kingdom upon his investiture as king and that his coronation was held at an unnamed church in Bagaran. He cites Drasxanakertcʿi's section on the coronation to support this but nowhere in his text is the locality of Ašot's coronation mentioned.

There is a passage in Tʿovma Arcruni's *History of the Arcruni House* that tells of Grigor Derenik Arcruni's betrothal to Ašot's daughter in the year 862. Arcruni says that Ašot returned to his "house" (տուն) in Bagaran with Derenik to hold the wedding festivities there ("*և էանց գնաց ի տուն իւր ի Բագարան*"). The use of the word *tun* is somewhat vague here but it is seems to suggest that the Bagratuni residence was in fact in Bagaran at the time when Ašot was bestowed with the office of prince of princes: Tʿovma Arcruni, *Patmutʿiwn tann Arcruneacʿ*, 322.

[33] Pʿawstos Buzand, *Buzandaran patmutʿiwnkʿ,* IV.xxiv, 120-22; Mnacʿakanyan, *Haykakan*, 62-64.

[34] Garsoïan, "Locus of the Death of Kings," 42-45.

[35] Ibid., 43.

sources neglect to report the moving of the tombs vitiates the strength of this hypothesis somewhat and, in the absence of clear evidence, it too is ultimately relegated to conjecture.

If the sources are silent on when Bagaran was selected as the royal residence of the Bagratunis, they are almost equally as quiet on its history in the immediate decades following Ašot I's death. After completing the narration of his burial, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, an eyewitness to the most important events of the early years of the Bagratuni state and the author of the most detailed source of the Bagratuni kingdom, speaks sparingly of the town in the remainder of his text. For that matter, Smbat I (r. 890/92-912/14), the son and successor of Ašot, from the very moment of his formal accession to the throne in 890/92, did not show a great deal of interest in Bagaran either. When told of his father's death, Smbat, rather than returning to the royal capital, made his way to his estate at Erazgavorkʻ/Širakawan, a town (or *kʻałakʻagiwł*, "fortified village," in the words of Drasxanakertcʻi)[36] located at a distance of twenty-five kilometers northeast of Ani on the right bank of the Akhurian,[37] indicating a close affinity between Smbat and his land in Širakawan even prior to the death of Ašot I. Indeed, the Armenian historian Vardan Arewelcʻi, who composed his *Historical Compilation* in the mid-thirteenth century, writes that Smbat was anointed king at the Church of the All Savior (Surb Amenapʻrkič) in Širakawan in about 892, of which he had laid the foundation but whose construction was not even complete.[38] According to Drasxanakertcʻi the church, which was completed and consecrated in 896/97, was found near Smbat's royal palace.[39] By all appearances the amount of attention that Smbat was lavishing on Širakawan suggests that he was preparing to transform it into the new political center of his kingdom, a veritable capital which from the very outset was to have a very close bond with the monarchy itself.[40] Yet the king's building activities were soon curtailed with the outbreak of numerous rebellions and foreign incursions. The last five years of Smbat's reign were particularly turbulent and were spent

[36] Maksoudian has translated this word as komopolis.

[37] "*Իսկ գինի այսորիկ չուէ գայ հասանէ ըստ համբաւոյն հասելոյ՝ Սմբատ որպի արքային ՛ի սեպհական կալուած Երազգաւորիգ Շիրակաւան*": Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, 146.

[38] Stepʻanos Tarōnecʻi, 161; Vardan Arewelcʻi, 86.

[39] Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, 186.

[40] On the correlation between the establishment of new political centers and church foundation, including a brief discussion of its biblical underpinnings, see T. Greenwood, "The Emergence of the Bagratuni Kingdoms of Kars and Ani" in *Armenian Kars and Ani*, ed. Hovannisian, 54-55.

fighting against a Muslim force led by Yūsuf b. Abi ʻl-Sādj, the *ostikan* and emir of Āẓarbaijān. Smbat eventually surrendered personally to Yūsuf, who at first chose to free his prisoner but then seized him and confined him in a jail in Dwin for more than a year. He then took Smbat with him to a place outside the walls of the fortress of Ernǰak in Siwnikʻ in 912/14, where he had him tortured and beheaded, and had the headless corpse put on a wooden cross in the city of Dwin.[41]

In the following pages of Drasxanakertcʻi's account, it is unclear what happened to Smbat's body. Given Yūsuf's brutal conduct toward the king and his animosity toward the Bagratuni family it is unlikely that he would have relinquished it to be conveyed for burial. That Smbat was widely viewed by contemporaries as a martyr for the Christian faith would have given Yūsuf further incentive to deny a burial for a king whose grave might then develop into a pilgrimage site and so acquire a symbolic or political importance.[42] It is rather interesting that it is the *History of the Province of Siwnikʻ*, a work written by the late thirteenth-century historian Stepʻannos Ōrbēlian, which provides the probable location of Smbat's burial site. After reproducing the lengthy dedicatory inscription that had been inscribed on the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Surb Grigor Lusavorič, fig. 8), which had been erected in the village of Vanēvancʻ/ Ktʻanocʻ (the village of Artsvanist in modern Armenia) and completed in 903 by Mariam and Šapuh Bagratuni, Smbat I's sister and brother, Ōrbēlian writes that "here [i.e., at the Church of St. Gregory] there are the graves of the God-Bearers Tēr Sałōmōn and Tēr Atʻanas and Smbat and Bagratuni."[43] While Tēr Sałōmōn and Tēr Atʻanas can be assumed to be the former abbots of the church, "Smbat and Bagratuni" might be referring to the king himself. Bagaran had continued to function as the site

[41] Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, 236-42.

[42] Ibid., 242; Movsēs Kałankatuacʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Ałuanicʻ ašxarhi* [History of the land of *Ałuankʻ*], ed. V. Aṛakʻelyan (Erevan, 1983), 337; M. Ormanian, *Azgapatum* [National history], 3 vols. (Constantinople-Jerusalem, 1912-27), 1: col. 1037. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʻi, *Patmutʻiwn Hayocʻ*, 242, writes that the ground where the crucifix was raised and where Smbat's blood dripped down soon became a shrine, attracting Christians and non-Christians alike to the site in the belief that they would be cured of their ailments. The Armenian Yaysmawurkʻ (menologium) commemorates Aheki 9 (April 16) as the day of the martyrdom of Smbat: see, for example, Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, UCLA, Arm. MS. 16, fol. 198v.

[43] "*Աստ կան ի չիրիմի աստուածապգեաց Տէր Սաղօմօն և Տէր Աթանաս և Սմբատ և Բագրատունի*": Stepʻannos Ōrbēlian, *Patmutʻiwn Nahangin Sisakan, arareal Stepʻannos Ōrbēlian Arkʻepiskoposi Siwneacʻ*, ed. K. V. Šahnazareancʻ (Paris, 1859; repr. Tiflis, 1910), 182-83. The inscription on the church has been published in *CIArm*, ed. S. G. Barxudaryan, 6 issues (Erevan, 1960-82), 4: 121-22, no. 491, pl. XL.

of the Bagratuni family sepulcher during the first decade of the century, as evidenced by Šapuh's and Smbat's son Mušeł's burials there.[44] But by the time of Smbat's death the town had fallen under the control of Šapuh's son Ašot, the *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) of Armenia, who had sworn his allegiance to Yūsuf. This reality would have stood as a practical obstacle to burying Smbat I in the capital and it is quite likely that Smbat's remains were surreptitiously collected by his kinsmen and deposited at St. Gregory, which was found on the southern shore of Lake Gełarkunikʿ (Sevan) and thus in a region where Yūsuf's authority did not hold strong sway. The evidence is fragmentary but this crucial bit of information is enough to suggest that the king's most likely site of interment was the Church of St. Gregory.

Although the death of Smbat I dealt a severe blow to the political viability of the Armenian state, the kingdom's fortunes saw a swift revival under the strong-willed leadership of Smbat's son and successor Ašot II

[44] Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, 196, 228. Šapuh had died of natural causes sometime in the first decade of the tenth century and his body was laid to rest "among his ancestors" (*ĕnd hars iwrum*) in Bagaran. Mušeł, on the other hand, was poisoned by Yūsuf in around 910 and his body was sent to Bagaran to be buried in the "ancestral cemetery" (*naxnakan hangstaranacʿn*).

Perplexingly, after having described Mušeł's death, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi unwittingly and quite unexpectedly introduces a new twist to the mystery of the fate of the Dariwnkʿ mausoleum. He states that Prince Smbat, the nephew of Smbat I and the son of his brother Sahak, was also executed by Yūsuf but unlike his cousin Mušeł, was buried in Dariwnkʿ "among his ancestors" (*Սոյնպէս և զզուարթածաղիկ ախօք զերիտասարդն Սմբատ՝ զեղբօրորդի Սմբատայ…և զնա ևս նովին զրժողութեամբ գաւոյ կորուսանէր ՚ի կենաց աստի. Զոր տարեալ թաղեցին ի Դարոնս ընդ հարս իւր*: ibid., 228). He makes no effort to provide an explanation why and does not even seem to realize the apparent contradiction. Prince Smbat had expressed a willingness to ally with Yūsuf, although this could hardly have been the reason why he was not buried in Bagaran. There is little mention elsewhere of his father Sahak and none at all regarding the date of his death and place of burial.

The terminology that Drasxanakertcʿi, as well as earlier historians, employs in describing the mausolea in Bagaran and Dariwnkʿ (*քնարանի հարց իւրոց, ընդ հարս իւրում, ընդ հարս իւր, նախնական հանգստարանացն*, and so on) are nearly identical with one another. If we are to reject the thesis that the Dariwnkʿ tombs were physically removed to Bagaran Drasxanakertcʿi could then rightly say that Prince Smbat was entombed next to his Bagratuni forefathers. This still does not answer why he was buried in Dariwnkʿ. It is possible that Prince Smbat or someone else from his side of the family had founded churches or carried out other such civil building activities in Dariwnkʿ, which would have then reflected a new, personal association with the site.

Edwards, "Fortress at Doğubeyazit," 445, supplementary note 17, has also posited that the Bagratunis had maintained some sort of agreement with the Arcrunis (or whichever one of the minor houses that then controlled Dariwnkʿ) to allow for the continual burial of their princes as late as the early tenth century.

(r. 912/14-29), nicknamed Erkatʿ (Iron).[45] At the time of his accession Ašot still had to contend with Yūsuf. During Smbat's reign the emir had meddled extensively in internal Armenian politics, most notably with his bestowal of a royal crown to Prince Gagik Arcruni of Vaspurakan in 908, and he now attempted to drive a wedge between the Bagratuni princes by sending a crown to Ašot *sparapet*, the son of Šapuh, ca. 914, setting him up as an anti-king.[46] The civil war that ensued effectively split Armenia into three different camps, with King Gagik ruling Vaspurakan and most of southern Armenia; Ašot *sparapet* in central Armenia; and Ašot II in northwest Armenia, including Lake Gełarkunikʿ and the southern border districts of Iberia (Georgia).

Although Yūsuf allowed Ašot *sparapet* to operate against Ašot II from Dwin until his recall to Baghdād in 919, it seems that Ašot *sparapet* had a special fondness for Bagaran long before he had declared his loyalty to the emir. Following his father's death he had built a church in Bagaran that was noted for its style and elegance, and it was Ašot *sparapet* who had conveyed Mušeł Bagratuni's body to the town. With the royal capital under the control of an individual who was, in effect, a pretender, King Ašot II was forced to look elsewhere for a political base to stand on. It is more difficult to pinpoint this on account of the fact that he spent the better part of his reign on campaign. Drasxanakertcʿi does mention that Ašot settled in Širakawan during one of his campaigns, though has nothing else to say. In 923 Ašot *sparapet* finally abandoned his pretensions of being king. However, at the very moment when Ašot II's struggles against the Muslim emirs and the rebellious princes were winding down (ca. 924) and the kingdom was entering an era of relative peace Drasxanakertcʿi's *History* comes to an end. We are thus deprived of not only our principle source of the period but are left completely in the dark on the final years of the king's life. The next and only other Armenian author who speaks about Ašot at length is Asołik, who is in any case more interested in recounting the king's military exploits than providing the more pertinent details of his later life.[47]

The next thirty years of the history of the Bagratuni kingdom are so poorly documented that one is forced to rely primarily upon Asołik's *Universal History* for events of the mid-tenth century onward. Ašot II

[45] A reconstructed chronology of Ašot II's reign is presented by N. Adontz, "Ašot Erkatʿ ou de fer roi d'Arménie de 913 à 929," *AIPHOS* 3 (1935), 13-35.

[46] Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, 294.

[47] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 169-71.

died childless and the possession of the crown passed to his brother Abas (r. 929-952/53). During the early years of the civil war Abas had sided against his brother by allying with Ašot *sparapet*, possibly taking up residence in the fortress-town of Kars, just slightly to the northwest of Ani in the province of Vanand. With the conclusion of the war he presumably had come to terms with his brother to secure his accession to the throne. What little information that exists regarding Abas I's long reign is almost exclusively concentrated on his church building activities. Kars became the new capital of the kingdom, and it was in this quickly developing town (called a city by Asołik) that Abas constructed the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles (Surb Aṛakʿelocʿ, fig. 9).[48] It was also during his reign that the monastic complex of Hoṛomos was established (ca. 931-36) by a group of Armenian monks fleeing from religious persecution in Byzantium.[49] In his short description of Hoṛomos Asołik states that the monk who founded the complex had intended it to be a resting area for weary travelers and adds that it continued to serve such a function during his own time; tellingly, he does not make any mention nor even hint that Hoṛomos was being used as a site for the royal burial grounds.[50] Unfortunately, neither he nor other authors say where Abas was buried. While Bagaran remains a highly plausible choice, the king's lengthy residence in Kars might suggest the possibility that the king chose to break with tradition to be buried in his new capital. The evidence for this is admittedly thin, not least because it is not supported in any textual references or archaeological data. Nevertheless Abas' affection toward Kars and the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles especially, where he had a captured Abgasian prince who had attempted to convert the church to the Chalcedonian rite blinded in 943, may lend some credence to the premise that the king would have wanted to be buried in his new capital.

[48] Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls Kars a *kastron*, a word designating a fortified settlement, but more typically denoting a city: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H Jenkins, 2nd ed. (Washington D.C., 1967), ch. 44.13-16, 198-99.

[49] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 174; Kirakos Ganjakecʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ* [History of the Armenians], ed. K. A. Melikʿ-Ohanǰanyan (Erevan, 1961), 84; Samuēl Anecʿi, *Hawakʿmunkʿ i grocʿ patmagracʿ* [Compilations of the writings of the historians], ed. A. Tēr-Mikʿelean (Vałaršapat, 1893), 99.

[50] "*Իսկ ի գաւառն Շիրակայ՝ Հոռոմոսին կոչեցեալ վանք չինեցաւ ի ձեռն Յովհաննիսի....և անցաւորայց և ճանապարհորդաց հանգստարան պատրաստէր զեկեղին՝ մինչև իբր յիւրեանց տան ամենայն օտարաց. որ մինչև ցայսօր երևի նոյն ևչան ողորմածութեան ի տան յայնմ*": Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 174.

The events of the second half of the tenth century are covered substantially better in Asołik's *Universal History*. In conjunction with his work, the *Chronicle* of the twelfth-century Armenian chronicler Matthew of Edessa (d. ca. 1140) sheds important light on this period. Matthew had spent a great deal of his time interviewing witnesses to the events of the eleventh century and had at his disposal a number of sources written by Armenian and Greek authors. By far the two most valuable sources for the first part of his *Chronicle* were the now lost works of the erudite church doctors (*vardapets*) Yakob Sanahnecʿi (Yakobos Kʿarapʿnecʿi) and Yovhannēs Kozeṛn.[51] In 952/53 Abas died and was succeeded by his eldest son Ašot III (r. 952/53-977). Despite his father's expansion of Kars, Ašot still felt that the kingdom lacked a suitable capital. While his brother Mušeł established himself there, Ašot made a failed bid to capture the former Aršakuni capital and regional administrative center of Dwin from its Muslim lord in the very year of his accession.[52] There is a dearth of information regarding the events of the next few years but it is from Matthew of Edessa that we learn of Ašot's formal coronation as king in 961/62, which was celebrated with much pomp and ceremony in the newly proclaimed royal capital at Ani (*tʿagaworanist kʿałakʿ Hayocʿ*).[53]

[51] Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi [Matthew of Edessa], *Mattʿēosi Uṙhayecʿvoy Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, ed. H. M. Bartʿikyan (Erevan, 1991); trans. A. E. Dosturian, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD, 1993). As a high-ranking clerical official of the Armenian Church, Yakob Sanahnecʿi vigorously opposed the Byzantine Empire's annexation of the Bagratuni kingdom. His later plans to arrange a religious union between the Armenian and Orthodox Churches ultimately faltered, and he eventually was forced retired to Edessa, where he died in 1085. The fragments preserved in Erevan, Matenadaran, MS. 9832 contains excerpts of the chronicle that Yakob Sanahnecʿi wrote, *I Žamankagrutʿiwnē Yakobay kʿahanay* (*The Chronicle of Yakob the Priest*). For more on his life and the work he composed, see L. Xačʿikyan, "Yakob Sanahnecʿi, Žamanakagir 11-rd dari," [Yakob Sanahnecʿi, A chronicler of the 11th century] *BEH* 1 (1971): 22-48. Yovhannēs Kozeṛn was a savant and luminary of his time. In 1022 he traveled to Trebizond as a member of the delegation that essentially turned over the Armenian kingdom to the Byzantine Empire. A number of apocryphal works have been attributed to him, although the one that can definitely be said to belong to his pen is the *Patmutʿiwn Bagratuneacʿ*, or *History of the Bagratunis*, which Matthew profited from greatly. He died sometime in the mid or the later part of the eleventh century and was buried in the Kond district of Erevan. For his life and contributions, see Y. Kürtian, "Yovhannēs vardapet Kozeṛn," *HA* 1-3 (1967), 1-15.

[52] V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, Cambridge Oriental Series, no. 6 (London, 1953), 10-11, (Arabic) 4-6.

[53] Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamankagrutʿiwn*, 8-10. For the city of Ani, in addition to Hakobyan's *Anii patmutʿyun*, see R. H. Kévorkian, *Ani, capitale de l'Arménie en l'an mil* (Paris, 2001); P. Cuneo, *L'architettura della scuola regionale di Ani nell'Armenia medieval* (Rome, 1977).

As is evident from references in literary texts, Ani was only a small fortress-town in the first half of the tenth century. Formerly a possession of the Kamsarakans, it had been built on a triangular plateau that was situated on the right bank of the Akhurian and was flanked on two sides by steep ravines, bolstering its profile as an easily defendable site (fig. 10). Taking advantage of the peaceful conditions of the times, in 963/64 Ašot embarked on an ambitious enterprise to embellish his new capital, expanding the citadel found in the city's south side (fig. 18) and enclosing the "old city" (*hin kʿałakʿ*) within a line of walls (subsequently referred to as the Ašotašen walls).[54] In Ani and other regions of Greater Armenia Ašot, his wife Xosrovanuyš, and members of his household donated generously to the Armenian Church and sponsored the construction of palaces, baths, monasteries (including those at Sanahin and Hałpat in Loṛi), churches and chapels, and channeled funds for the establishment of hospitals, leprosaria and almshouses, earning the king the epithet of Ołormac (the Merciful).[55] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi is fulsome in his praise of Ašot, whose philanthropic activities, he says, continued on until the day of his death on January 3/May 20, 977.[56] His place of burial is not mentioned. Although this is something we have grown accustomed to seeing in the sources, it is remarkable that there is no mention of the construction of a tomb by a king who had such a deep passion for building. Ašot's person was most closely associated with Ani, and it is this fact which renders the notion that the king was buried at a site other than his own capital, such as Hoṛomos, highly suspect. The issue of the location of his burial, including its relation to Hoṛomos, will be discussed in greater detail below.

Ašot III was succeeded by his son Smbat II (r. 977-89/90), nicknamed Tiezerakal (Master of the Universe) and recognized as Šahanšah (king of kings), on the same day of his death in 977. Smbat II inherited his father's passion for building and spent the better part of his reign further embellishing Ani. Since the kingdom had largely been left to its own devices during Ašot III's rule there was no longer any pressing need to shuffle

[54] Vardan Arewelcʿi, 89. The "old city" is a term used occasionally by modern authors to differentiate with the "new city", which grew beyond the Ašotašen walls during Ašot's and later his successors' reigns. For studies on the Old City and Ani's citadel, see V. M. Harutʿyunyan, *Ani kʿałakʿě* [The city of Ani] (Erevan, 1964), 23-31, 40, 57-58; Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 1: 186-87, 267-73.

[55] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 180-81; Vardan Arewelcʿi, 89-90; Samuēl Anecʿi, 100-01; G. Yovsēpʿean, *Yišatakarankʿ jeŕagracʿ (5rd daricʿ minčʿew 1250 tʿ.)* [Colophons of manuscripts (from the fifth century to the year 1250)] 4 vols. (Antelias, 1951), 1: cols. 129-31, 137-42.

[56] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 181.

from one city to another. Over the preceding fifteen years, Ani's population and size had dramatically increased, as the prominence of the royal capital and the security it offered had attracted merchants, princes and people of ordinary walks of life to take up residence there. To accommodate the burgeoning expanse of the city, Smbat erected a massive line of walls, flanked with fortifications, along Ani's northern side (known as the Smbatašen walls). The king also laid the foundation of the Mother Cathedral in Ani (Mayr Katʿołikē; also given the name Surb Astuacacin Ekełecʿi, or Church of the Mother of God, by some modern commentators, fig. 11), the construction of which would be completed only during the reign of his successor.[57] One event which took place under Smbat's reign and which is of relevance here is the burning of Hoṛomos in 982 by the forces of the Sallārid emir of Āẓarbaijān, Ibrāhim b. al-Marzubān.[58] The significance of this attack will be highlighted in the section on Hoṛomos below. Smbat II's life was ultimately cut short by a severe disease that irritated and inflamed his skin.[59] After enumerating the three grave sins which the king had supposedly committed, the first of which had been the wanton execution of a mentally unstable man in the capital, Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi writes that Smbat was "buried in the same city [i.e., Ani] in the year 438 [March 24, 989–March 23, 990]."[60] This remark, reported in a relatively casual manner, is the author's first and only reference to a burial of a Bagratuni king in the city of Ani, and has by and large escaped the attention of scholars. It is unfortunate that, as an eyewitness, Asołik does not quite add any additional information (although see below). It is probable that Smbat's interment in Ani had as much to do with his embellishment of the capital as it possibly being the location of the Bagratuni mausoleum, though Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi does not indicate this.

Smbat's II's successor was his brother Gagik I (r. 989-1017/20),[61] who rose to the throne on the same day of the king's death. Conditions in the Bagratuni kingdom during Gagik I's rule were generally favorable: numerous incursions made by the Muslim emirates in the south were staved

[57] Ibid., 187.

[58] Ibid., 188-89.

[59] Ibid., 254-55.

[60] "*և մեռաւ անդէն և թաղեցաւ ի նմին քաղաքի ի ՆԼԸ թուականին*": Ibid., 255. Leo, *Erkeri Žołovacu* [Collection of works], eds. Z. Grigoryan et al., 10 vols. (Erevan, 1967-73), 2, 605, interprets Asołik's subsequent remark about him being unable to speak a word of praise for Smbat as a tacit admission that the king was murdered in an act of regicide by his own brother and successor, Gagik.

[61] On the date of the Gagik's death see K. N. Yuzbašyan, "K khronologii pravleniya Gagika I Bagratuni," *ADSV* 10 (1973), 195-97.

off and internal peace was maintained among the Armenian princes. Ani flourished and continued to grow in both size and population. In 992/93, Catholicos Sargis I Sewancʿi transferred the seat of the catholicosate from Argina to Ani, which only elevated its status as the preeminent political and religious center of Armenia.[62] Gagik and his wife Katranidē (spelled Katramidē or Katramitē in texts) enthusiastically contributed to the altering of the city's landscape. Queen Katranidē (d. ca. 1012) had the distinguished architect Trdat see to the completion of the resplendent Mother Cathedral, whose construction had been halted following Smbat's death.[63] Gagik himself inaugurated the construction of the circular, double-aisled tetraconch Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Gagkašen), which was modeled on the design of the seventh century church of Zwartʿnocʿ, as well as numerous other churches, secular buildings, inns and bridges.[64] The *Universal History* breaks off roughly at around the year 1004 and our sources are reduced to just Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle*, which, however, does not adequately cover the final years of Gagik's rule. Incidentally, the absence of literary material on Gagik's death is compensated for by archaeological excavations carried out in the late nineteenth century, which have suggested Ani as being the resting place for both Gagik and Katranidē.

The political fortunes of the Bagratuni kingdom dramatically began to decline during the first quarter of the eleventh century. Following Gagik's death in 1020 an accession dispute arose between his two sons Yovhannēs-Smbat (r. 1020-41/42; sometimes referred to as Smbat III or just simply Yovhannēs) and Ašot IV Kʿaǰ (the Brave) when the latter challenged his older brother's right to the throne. Ašot raised an army and a short but vicious civil war erupted that ended with an agreement that left Yovhannēs-Smbat as king of a rump state centered at Ani and Ašot as king of what

[62] It is worth noting that the eleventh-century historian Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi says that Sargis was buried at Hoṛomos monastery in 1019, a terse remark that leaves much to be desired (*Ի սոյն ժամանակս փոխի յաշխարէ սուրբ և արժանաւոր հայրապետն տէր Սարգիս, և է գերեզման նորա ի Հոռոմոսի վանքն*): Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Aristakisi Lastivertcʿwoy*, ed. K. N. Yuzbašyan (Erevan, 1963), 32. The Catholicoi of Armenia did not have their own separate mausoleum, but like the kings and princes were generally buried next to churches of which they had some association with. There is nothing from Aristakēs' statement that can be taken to indicate the presence of a cemetery reserved for ecclesiastics and it remains unclear what linked Sargis with Hoṛomos.

[63] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 256; *CIArm*, ed. H. A. Orbeli, 1: 35, no. 101, pl. XIII.

[64] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 255-56, 282; Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, 1: cols. 1162-63; Stepʿannos Ōrbēlian, *Patmutʿiwn Nahangin Sisakan*, 183, writes that Gagik also carried out renovations at the monastic complex at Vanēvancʿ, which perhaps indicates the concern the king had for the proper upkeep of the burial site of his great grandfather, Smbat I.

was left of Greater Armenia. Accordingly, Ašot was to become the king of all Armenia after Yovhannēs-Smbat's death. The crisis was compounded by the prospect of renewed foreign invasions, this time by Turkmen raiders from the south and the east. At the same moment that the kingdom was fending off these incursions, the Byzantine Empire began to turn its attention on affairs in the Caucasus. In 1021, the lands of the kingdom of Vaspurakan were handed over to the empire and the Arcruni king Senekʿerim-Yovhannēs along with members of his house and his retinue were given Byzantine titles and settled in the cities of Cappadocia (Lesser Armenia). One year later Emperor Basil II led a large army to Iberia and demanded that Yovhannēs-Smbat surrender his kingdom, upon which the king promptly agreed to bequeath all his lands to the empire after his death.[65] The poverty of sources does not allow for a proper reconstruction of the simultaneous reigns of Ašot IV and Yovhannēs-Smbat. The conditions of the kingdom apparently stabilized in the next twenty years, although relations between the two kings remained tense as Ašot even sought assistance from Basil in his bid for the throne. As it happened, Ašot's death predated that of his brother's. Matthew of Edessa is very clear about the particulars of his death and burial:

> In this same year [489 of the Armenian era, i.e., March 11, 1040–March 10, 1041], the Armenian king Ashot Bagratuni, the son of Gagik and the brother of John [Yovhannēs-Smbat], died. He left behind his son, named Gagik, who was fifteen years of age. Ashot was brought to the city of Ani and was buried in the vaults of the former Armenian kings. Ashot did not enter the city of Ani except on the day of his death…[66]

[65] Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 56-58; Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn*, 61-62; cf. Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973), 435; trans. J. Wortley, *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057: Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, 2010), 409.

[66] "*Ցայսմ ամի մեռաւ թագաւորն Հայոց Աշոտ Բագրատունի որդին Գագկայ և եղբայր Յովհաննիսի, և մնաց իւր տղայ որդի մի Գագիկ անուն ամաց հնգետասանից. և բերաւ Աշոտ ի քաղաքն Անի, և թաղեցին զնա ի տապանատունն առաջին թագաւորացն Հայոց. և վասն զի ի կենդանութեան իւրում Աշոտ ոչ մտաւ ի քաղաքն Անի մինչև յօր մահուն իւրոյ:*" Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 88; Dosturian, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 63. This is also reported by the thirteenth-century Armenian historian Smbat Sparapet, who probably was working with a copy of Matthew's work: "In the same year [March 11, 1040-March 10, 1041] Ašot Bagratuni, king of the Armenians, died, and they buried him in Ani in the cemetery of the kings" (*Ի սոյն ամի [ՆՁԹ] մեռաւ Աշոտ Բագրատունի թագաւորն Հայոց, և թաղեցին զնա Անի ի գերեզման թագաւորացն*): Smbat Sparapet [The Constable Smbat], *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirkʿ* [The chronicle of Smbat Sparapet], ed. H. S. V. Agĕlean (Venice, 1956), 33.

Yovhannēs-Smbat's death was not far away, however, and he died just one year later. Matthew, once more:

> In the year 490 of the Armenian calendar and era [March 11, 1040–March 10, 1041], the Armenian king John [Yovhannēs-Smbat] died and was buried in the city of Ani in the vaults of the former Armenian kings. He was the brother of Ashot, the son of Gagik, who in turn was the son of Ashot, son of Smbat, son of Ashot the Iron of Bagratid lineage.[67]

Matthew's wording is worthy of attention. The word "former" used above and in the passages below should of course be understood to refer to Ašot's and Yovhannēs-Smbat's predecessors. The use of the plural (*aṛaǰin tʿagaworacʿn Hayocʿ*) in the two passages is an important inference that suggests that at least two of Ašot's predecessors were buried in the royal mausoleum.

With the near simultaneous deaths of Ašot and Yovhannēs-Smbat, discord ensued once more in the kingdom. In Ani there arose two competing parties which struggled over the fate of the Bagratuni state: one which desired the Byzantine annexation and the other which favored independence. The latter party, led by the Pahlawuni military family, gained the upper hand and, since Yovhannēs-Smbat did not leave an heir, installed Gagik, the son of Ašot IV, as the new king in 1042. Gagik II (ca. 1024-79/80) spent the entirety of his short reign (1042-44/45) repelling the Byzantine armies that were sent to occupy Ani. In the end, he was invited to Constantinople by Emperor Constantine IX and forced to relinquish his crown. The lands of the Bagratuni kingdom were incorporated into the empire and made a part of the theme of Iberia. In compensation, Constantine allotted Gagik the towns of Kalōn-Pełat (καλόν πηγάδιν?) and Pizu in Cappadocia and estates in the themes of Lykandos and Charsianon, but forbade him from returning to Ani.[68] Matthew writes that when it became clear that the king was not going to return, Ani's residents:

[67] "*Ի Հայոց տումարիս և ի թուականութեանս ամի ՆՂ մեռաւ թագաւորն Հայոց Յովհաննէս՝ եղբայրն Աշոտոյ, որպի Գագիկայ, որդւոյ Աշոտոյ, որդւոյ Սմբատայ, որդւոյ երկաթայ՝ Բագրատունի ազգաւ, և թաղեցին զնա ի քաղաքն Անի ի գերեզմանսն առաջին թագաւորացն Հայոց:*" Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 92; Dosturian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 66; "In the year 490 [March 11, 1041-March 10, 1042] of the Armenian era, King Yovhannēs died and was buried among his ancestors" (*Ի թուին Հայոց ՆՂ մեռաւ թագաւորն Յովհաննէս, և թաղեցաւ ընդ հարսն իւր*): Smbat Sparapet, 35.

[68] Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 102-04; Skylitzes, 436-37; Wortley, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History,* 409-11.

> Assembled where the tombs of all the former Armenian kings were located and wept over the abandoned Armenian nation [now bereft of a ruler].[69]

The last king of the Bagratuni kingdom would ultimately spend the rest of his years in exile. There is some disagreement among the primary sources about the nature of his activities in the empire, but if the account of Matthew of Edessa is to be believed, Gagik led an openly rebellious, almost juvenile, lifestyle in the inner provinces of Anatolia.[70] So odious were his actions and those of the men of his retinue that in 1079 he was ambushed by three Greek princes and taken to the fortress of Kizistra (Κύβιστρα?).[71] The local Armenian princes rallied together and tried to rescue him by laying siege to Kizistra but one of the Greeks had Gagik strangled on May 5/November 24 and hanged his body from the ramparts. The next day it was taken down and buried next to the fortress walls; six months later, an Armenian by the name of Banik secretly unearthed the body at night and had it buried at an unnamed monastery in Pizu that Gagik had built during his time in exile.[72]

And so, Gagik II, the last scion of the royal Bagratuni dynasty was deprived of a burial in his homeland. The city of Ani, however, would suffer destruction on more than one occasion during the foreign invasions which were to follow over the next several centuries. The last reference to the royal mausoleum is found once more found in Matthew's *Chronicle*, this time in connection to the month-long siege of Ani in 1064. In the late summer of that year, the city was besieged and captured by the Seljūq Turks under the command of Alp Arslan. When the nobility and the

[69] "*և արարին ամենայն քաղաքն ժողով ուր էին գերեզմանն ամենայն Հայոց առաջին թագաւորացն և անդ լային զանտիրանալն ազգին Հայոց*": Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 106; Dosturian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 73.

[70] Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 194-98.

[71] W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1962), 341, identified Kizistra/Kybistra as modern Ereğli in Turkey, located at the northern tip of the Cilician Gates.

[72] Matt'ēos Uṙhayec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwn*, 234-36. For reference to the monastery Gagik built, see ibid., 198. Vardan Arewelc'i, 115, and the thirteenth-century historian Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, 102, offer slightly different accounts of Gagik's death but both confirm that he was murdered by the Greeks; neither of them mentions what happened to Gagik's body. Cf. Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. A. Kadellis and D. Kralis (Cambridge-London, 2012), 146-147; Skylitzes, 437; Wortley, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History,* 411, who says that Gagik led a quiet life in the empire after he surrendered his kingdom. See also W. Seibt, "War Gagik II. von Großarmenien ca. 1072-1073 *megas douk Charsianos*?" in *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr*., ed. J. S. Langdon et al., 2 vols. (New Rochelle, NY, 1993), 2: 159-68, who places Gagik's death in the year 1072/73 on the basis of sigillographic evidence.

major personages of the city observed the Byzantine garrison commanders withdrawing to the "upper and lesser fortresses" during the siege they:

> in tears, went and fell on their knees before the graves of the former Armenian kings, deeply lamenting with tearful eyes and saying: "Rise up and see [the condition of] your ancestral land."[73]

Once Ani was taken Alp Arslan's soldiers gave themselves over to pillage and rapine, wreaking immense devastation against the capital. The fate of the mausoleum during this assault and the ones that were to follow in the Turko-Mongol period is not clear.[74] From here on in, the textual sources make scant references to it.[75] Ani's prospects briefly improved in the early thirteenth century, when it was liberated by the Zakʿareans, an Armenian princely family in the service of Queen Tamar of Georgia. But with the Turkic invasions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the gradual shifting of trade routes that bypassed Ani, the city underwent a precipitous decline and was finally abandoned as an inhabited site in the seventeenth century.[76] Conditions in the region itself grew increasingly unsafe as the Armenian Plateau became a heavily contested battleground between the

[73] "*և մեծամեծքն քաղաքին երթեալ լալով և անկանէին ի վերայ գերեզմանացն առաջին թագաւորացն Հայոց և անդ կոծ առեալ սաստկապէս լալով և ասէին՝ թէ 'Արիք տեսէք զառն Հայրենեաց ձերոց'*:" Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 160; Dosturian, *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 103.

[74] For the capture of Ani in 1064, see Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 2: 24-38 and M. Canard, "La Campagne Arménienne du Sultan Salǧuqide Alp Arslan et la Prise d'Ani en 1064," *REArm* 2 (1965), 239-59.

[75] An exception might be a line that is apparently taken from the colophon of Jerusalem, St. James, MS. 1455, dated to 1622 and written in Tʿokat. It states that it was in Ani where "the kings [of the Bagratuni line] of Greater Armenia were laid to rest [*dadareal*], who were altogether seventy six [in number]" (*Ասա* [i.e., in Ani] *դադարեալ թագաւորաց Հայոց Մեծաց, որ են ընդ ամենայն ՀԶ*: Yovsēpʿean, *Yišatakarankʿ jeṙagracʿ*, col. 88). The infinitive form of the verb *dadareal* can be interpreted to mean "to come to an end" or "cease" but based on the context it might be referring to where the Bagratunis were buried. Yovsēpʿean thought that the seventy-six included the Aršakuni kings but their burial (reburial?) in Ani seems improbable. It is far more likely that this figure is alluding to members of the Bagratuni house. The colophon's author, Stepʿanos Tʿoxatʿecʿi, does not give his sources and his statement may perhaps be even an echo of what was commonly known about Ani. It should be noted that there is evidence that points to this sentence belonging to a songbook (*tałaran*) rather than a colophon: see N. Bogharian, *Mayr cʿucʿak jeṙagracʿ Srbocʿ Yakobeancʿ* [Grand catalogue of Armenian manuscripts at St. James], 11 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971), 5: 138-40, where the phrase seventy-six is instead used in connection to the kings of Cilician Armenia. The colophon published in V. A. Hakobyan and A. G. Hovhannisyan, *Hayeren jeṙagreri yḥišatakaranner* [Colophons of Armenian manuscripts], 3 vols. (Erevan, 1978), 2: 51, is similarly listed under a songbook but makes no mention of the burials. I am grateful to Dickran Kouymjian for drawing this to my attention.

[76] On Ani's declining fortunes and eventual abandonment, see C. Mutafian, "Ani after Ani: Eleventh to Seventeenth Century," 155-65; T. A. Sinclair, "Trade, Administration,

Ottoman and Safavid Empires. Not until the nineteenth century would they improve and allow for relaxed traveling and systematic excavations to take place.

Epigraphy, Travelers' Accounts and Archaeolgical Excavations

The second part of this study will consist of an examination of the physical evidence that is available on the Bagratuni tombs. In addition to epigraphs, an important corpus of material on the physical state of Ani and other Armenian sites was recorded in the accounts of nineteenth and early twentieth century European travelers and researchers. This information was originally reported in an irregular fashion by travelers to the Ottoman Empire but then collected on a more systematic basis by such scholars as A. Kʻalantʻar, N. Y. Marr, H. A. Orbeli and Tʻ. Tʻoramanyan after the *sanjaks* of Kars and Ardahan became a part of the Russian Empire following the 1877-78 war. The annexation of these two districts permitted unhindered access to travelers and scholars alike to visit sites on the right bank of the Akhurian River such as Ani, Bagaran, Kars, and Širakawan. Regrettably, there was precious little that had survived of these sites because the eastern border regions of the Ottoman Empire had suffered great devastation after centuries of continuous warfare.[77] Like Ani, the former capitals of the Bagratuni kingdom were also subjected to the usual tribulations of wartime and civil strife but the level of destruction against these sites surpassed those of Ani; they were reduced to insignificant settlements by the turn of the nineteenth century.

The town of Bagaran was sacked and burned by the Seljūq Turks in 1048. It was rebuilt but then despoiled and laid waste again in 1394, this time by the armies of Tamerlane, and probably abandoned sometime during the late sixteenth century, though the adjacent Turkish village of Kilittaşı, formerly Pakran, has survived to the present day.[78] Širakawan

and Cities on the Plateau of Kars and Ani, Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries," 171-206, both in Hovannisian, *Armenian Kars and Ani*; Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʻyun*, 2, 282-337.

[77] An attempt to furnish a comprehensive list of the surviving monuments in the entire Kars region was made at the time by *vardapet* Kiwreł Srapean. His report, "Storagrutʻiwn Karsi šrǰakay giwłorēicʻ ew vanorēicʻ," [A description of the villages and monasteries of the Kars region] has been published by A. Adamyan in "Mi tełekagir Karsi marzi veraberyal," [A report regarding the province of Kars] *BHA* 2 (1970), 89-124.

[78] Hovhannēsean, *Hayastani berderě*, 661-66; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 1, 422-23; K. H. Maksoudian, "Monasteries, Churches, and Fortresses in the Region of Kars (The

was also sacked by the Seljūqs during their campaign against Ani in 1064. Some reconstruction was undertaken during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but the town never regained its former luster and remained a small village during the Ottoman period (now identified as the modern Turkish village of Başsüregel).[79] Kars fared little better and saw itself pass under the control of several Turkish emirs before being sacked and "levelled to the ground"[80] by Tamerlane in 1386. Owing to its strategic value, it was a common target during the Ottoman-Safavid wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was fortified and rebuilt by the Ottomans after it was ceded to them in the treaty of 1639.[81] The ultimate fate of the town of Pizu, as well as its present location, is more difficult to discern due to a paucity of sources. The monastery of the Holy Cross or Cross of the Crucifixion (Surb Xač‘ or Surb Nšan) in Pizu, mentioned in a manuscript that was copied sometime before 1663, is believed to be the same monastery where Gagik's body was laid to rest.[82] Its actual location is still something of a mystery but judging from the general disposition of Gagik II's estates in Lykandos and Charsianon it is likely that Pizu was found somewhere nestled between the three major urban centers of Cappadocia: T‘okat (Docea, Evdokia), Sebasteia (Sivas), and Caesarea (Kayseri).[83] Some have narrowed its location to the east or the south west of Mt. Argeos (Mt. Erciyes), itself south of Caesarea (see map 3).[84]

Status Quo in 1878)," in *Armenian Architecture: A Documented Photo-Archival Collection on Microfiche for the Study of Armenian Architecture of Transcaucasia and the Near and Middle-East, from the Medieval Period Onwards* (Zug, Switzerland, 1980-90), vol. 6, pt. 1 microfiche 2091, A10-A11, 10-11; T‘. X. Hakobyan, S. T. Melik‘-Baxšyan, H. X. Barsełyan, *Hayastani ew harakic‘ šrǰanneri tełanunneri baṙaran* [A topographical dictionary of Armenia and the neighboring regions, hereafter cited *HHŠTB*] 5 vols. (Erevan, 1988-2001), 1: 532.

[79] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 1: 425.

[80] S.v. "Kars," *EI, 2nd ed.*, 669-71.

[81] Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 1: 349-56.

[82] Hakobyan et al., *HHŠTB*, 4: 335.

[83] Pizu is also found spelled Bizou, Bozok, Pizari, Pizaru, Pouzana, Podantus, Opodando, Botentron, etc.: Hakobyan et al., *HHŠTB*, 4: 335. The most thorough discussion regarding Pizu's location is presented by A. A. Alboyajian, *Patmut‘iwn hay Kesarioy* [History of Armenian Kayseri], 2 vols. (Cairo, 1937), 1: 340, 416-17, 428-33, who, however, finds the evidence to be too conflicting to allow for a more precise guess. See also E. H. King, "Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor–1," *The Asiatic Review*, 36 (Jan.-Oct. 1940), 106-07, and S. G. Svajian, *A Trip through Historic Armenia* (New York, 1977), 32.

[84] Alboyajian, *Patmut‘iwn hay Kesarioy*, 1: 428-31; *idem, Patmut‘iwn Ewdokioy Hayoc‘* [History of Armenian Evdokia] (Cairo, 1952), 729. This would invalidate the view advanced by Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 2: 513, who supposes that Kalōn-Pełat and Pizu, which he identifies as the two Greek towns Kallipolis and Pasadia, were found much farther

The ruinous state of Bagaran in the nineteenth century reveals how little of the medieval city had survived. Unsurprisingly, one is hard pressed to find any trace of the royal mausoleum where Ašot I (and possibly his immediate successors) was buried and one is compelled to guess. It is more than probable that his tomb and those of his progeny were found near one of the town's churches. When he visited Bagaran in 1843 Father Nersēs Sargisean reported seeing nothing more than the remains of a palace, a citadel and its few standing towers, and five churches.[85] Of the numerous churches that were built in Bagaran, the most prominent was the Cathedral of St. Theodore (Surb Tʿēodoros; also called the Katʿołikē), which stood at the southern end of the town. It had been ordered to be built by Prince But Aṛuełean in 624 and was finished by his wife Annay in 631.[86] Though Sargisean was unable to identify St. Theodore properly among the churches he saw (simply calling it the "fifth church") he gives a fairly precise description of it and intriguingly remarks that there were a considerable number of old *xačʿkʿars* and graves in close proximity to it.[87]

The dedicatory inscriptions recorded by him and others make mention of only the names of the church's original founders. In a diary entry dated June 2, 1909, Tʿoramanyan recorded the "entire area around the church is covered with grave sites."[88] But if Srapean's statement is accepted then it would indicate that these graves at the very least belonged to the nobility and not the ordinary denizens of Bagaran.

In the same year Tʿoramanyan published two articles in the newspaper *Akhurian* on Bagaran, this time mentioning the presence of a medieval cemetery behind a single fortress wall situated northeast of St. Theodore. The oldest inscription he found there was dated to the twelfth century.[89]

to the south, at or near the modern Turkish towns of Göksun and Süleymanlı (Zeytʿun). Hewsen, *Armenia*, 126, map 106 (see map 3 in this article), places Kalōn-Pełat ("Kaławn-Pełat") and Pizu directly to the east of Caesarea but wonders if Kallipolis and Pasadia were located this far up north.

The monastery of Saint John Chrysostom (Surb Yovhannēs Oskeberan) in the village of Pizeṛi, located slightly to the northeast of Sebasteia, was initially called the Cross of the Crucifixion, and consequently confused with the actual monastery that Gagik had built: Alboyajian, *Patmutʿiwn Ewdokioy Hayocʿ*, 499-500.

[85] N. Sargisean, *Tełagrutʿiwnkʿ PʿokʿrewiMec Hays* [Toponymies of Lesser and Greater Armenia] (Venice, 1864), 200-02.

[86] Manučʿaryan, *Kʿnnutʿyun Hayastani*, 58-63.

[87] Sargisean, *Tełagrutʿiwnkʿ*, 202. Sargisean erroneously names Ašot *sparapet* as the patron of this church.

[88] Tʿoramanyan, *Nyutʿer*, 2: 194.

[89] *Akhurian*, 1909, Nos. 59 and 60; republished in Tʿoramanyan, *Nyutʿer*, 1: 231.

There is also the possibility that the mausoleum was tucked inside the walls of Bagaran's citadel. Tʿoramanyan described the ruins of its walls, towers, the last remnants of the foundation of the palace and a moderately large but unidentified church.[90] He did not record seeing any tombs here but considering that the relative protection this site would have offered against invaders it is just as suitable a candidate for the location of the Bagaran mausoleum as the area around the cathedral of St. Theodore. Permission to access this border region of Turkey is not easy, and so it is difficult to tell how much of what Sargisean and Tʿoramanyan initially observed is still extant today.

Much the same is to be said about Širakawan and Kars. The structure of the All Savior Church in Širakawan had survived into the late nineteenth century, though its drum and dome had long since collapsed. The few inscriptions that were recorded on the church walls only speak about the levying of taxes and of restorations being carried out in the late eleventh century.[91] The church was razed in the 1950s and some of its remains are still visible but it is unnecessary to search for Ašot II's grave in Širakawan/Başsüregel when the more likely site for the king would have been Bagaran. With regard to Kars, the medieval residue that remains is largely limited to the great citadel, which commands a dominating view at the northern end of the city, and the Cathedral of the Holy Apostles, which lies at its foot and has recently been re-converted into a mosque (the Kümbet Cami). The citadel has Armenian inscriptions dating to the ninth century, none of any relevance to the subject at hand. The Holy Apostles has no inscriptions, though it is possible that these were effaced when the cathedral was first converted into a mosque during the medieval period. Thus, there is unfortunately nothing forthcoming from either the literary or epigraphic source material to support the contention that Abas I was buried in Kars. The Church of St. Gregory in Artsvanist, where Smbat I is suggested by Ōrbēlian to have been buried, has survived intact, though it appears that his tomb has not. A popular tradition holds that a tomb in the cemetery courtyard of the unnamed sixth-century basilica church in Ōjun (Odzun, in northern Armenia) belongs to Smbat I,[92] although this is most probably a modern invention and greater credence should be attributed to Ōrbēlian's comment.

[90] Tʿoramanyan, *Nyutʿer*, 2: 194-95.

[91] Sargisean, *Tełagrutʿiwnkʿ*, 169-72.

[92] See L. Movsēsian, "Lori et l'histoire de la famille Bagratide armeniénne Kurikian," trans. F. Macler, *REArm* 7 (1927), 217.

Although the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences organized several archaeological expeditions in sites around the province of Kars, the most extensive and systematic excavations were carried out in Ani under the general supervision of the Russian archaeologist Nikolai Marr.[93] From 1892-93 and 1904-17, Marr's expedition team documented and renovated many of the churches and other buildings which had fallen to disrepair. The Ašotašen wall and its fortifications were excavated, where it was discovered that there were small chapels constructed inside the semi-circular towers. The cave network, dug into the rock of both sides of the Całkocʿajor (Alaca Çay) Valley, was also studied in great detail. Marr's team unearthed or came across a number of tombs and cemeteries at the Church of St. Gregory and elsewhere. Some of these were determined to be of relatively recent origin but the tombs of princely families (that of the Pahlawunis', fig. 19) and private individuals (that of the wealthy thirteenth-century Armenian merchant Tigran Honencʿ) were uncovered inside the city and in the cave dwellings of the Całkocʿajor Valley.[94]

In 1893, during the first phase of the excavations, a small chapel in the courtyard just to the east of the Mother Cathedral of Ani was uncovered and, inside of it, two tombs. The tombs had been rifled through by grave robbers but a fully intact skeleton lying in repose was found in one of them, its remains identified as belonging to Queen Katranidē, the wife of Gagik I and the patron of the Mother Cathedral.[95] To the confusion of Marr and the other individuals present, a metal nail was found driven between her two feet, in what can only be interpreted as an extreme demonstration of the queen's piety by emulating the suffering that Christ underwent.[96] Upon the lid of her tomb was a partial inscription that read "…

[93] For the excavations at Ani, see N. Y. Marr, *Ani, knižnaia istoriia goroda i raskopki na meste gorodišča* (Leningrad-Moscow, 1934).

[94] Tʿoramanyan, *Nyutʿer*, 1: 325–29; Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 1: 260-61. On Tigran tomb, see D.A. Kipšidze, *Peščery Ani* [The covers of Ani], ed. and comp. N.M. Tokarskii (Erevan 1972), 88-98, pls. 34-41.

[95] I. A. Orbeli, *Kratkii putevoditel' po gorodišču Ani* (St. Petersburg, 1910), 40; repr. in *idem*, *Izbrannye trudy* (Erevan, 1963), 125. To my knowledge there are no photographs, lithographs or any other visual illustrations of either the chapel or the tombs when they were first discovered in 1893.

[96] S. M. Dzotsikian [Tsotsikian], *Aycʿ mĕ Ani kʿałakʿin* [A visit to the city of Ani] (New York, 1914), 32-33. Marr himself was at pains to produce an explanation for the provenance of this phenomenon. Four years after the discovery of Katranidē's remains, a *vardapet* from Ani related to Dzotsikian that it was still a common practice among Armenians living in certain villages in the region of Karabagh to drive metal nails into the bodies of the recently deceased — but this was done by forcing it not through the deceased's feet but through his stomach and out his back.

Զ Վարդավառին յիսնեակ միով քառասնիւ կատարեալ անխափան: Եթէ ոք զարձանագրեալդ անփոյթ առնէ, դատապարտեալ եղիցի ի Քրիստոսէ…" ("…that the fortieth day requiem service [kʿaṛasunkʿ] be performed without fail during the fifty days of the Transfiguration. If anyone should ignore this inscription, let him be condemned by Christ…").[97] It is interesting that the supplementary inscription on the south wall of the Mother Cathedral, executed by Catholicos Sargis I following Katranidē's death in 1012, concludes with near similar wording.[98] It is generally assumed that the empty tomb next to Katranidē was occupied by Gagik I. The queen's prestige for completing the construction of the Mother Cathedral, the jewel of the city, would have been well-known during her time and her choice to be buried next to a church she was so closely identified with seems natural.

Based on the description provided by the traveler S. M. Dzotsikian the funerary chapel contained a place for prayer and was built to accommodate only the two tombs. Marr himself was convinced that the excavations would soon also reveal the royal mausoleum to be inside within the walls of the citadel (which was first excavated in 1907-08).[99] Unfortunately, the second phase of the excavations, which lasted from 1904 to late 1917, failed to yield anything, and with the plain of Ararat transformed yet again into a battlefield in the midst of the world war, they were brought to an indefinite end.[100] Excavations on a limited scale were begun by the Turkish government in Ani in the 1940s and more extensive ones have been carried out since the 1990s, although the quality of the work has until recently been, at best, unprofessional and more often than not has resulted in the outright destruction, rather than recovery and

[97] Dzotsikian, *Ayc ʿ mĕ Ani kʿałakʿin*, 33.

[98] See the references to note 63.

[99] Marr, "Ani," 202; for the excavations of the citadel, see *idem*, Ani, 66-72.

[100] It should be noted that a great number of the artifacts, records, data, photograph negatives and other items deposited by the archaeological team in the makeshift museum at Ani's mosque of Manūčihr were pillaged or destroyed when the Ottoman army advanced into the Kars province in early 1918: see N. Y. Marr, "Ani, la ville arménienne en ruines, d'après les fouilles de 1892-1893 et de 1904-1917," *REArm* 1 (1921), 409-10; A. A. Vruyr, *Anium* [In Ani] (Erevan, 1964), 15-16; *Tʿoros Tʿoramanyan, namakner* [Tʿoros Tʿoramanyan: Letters], ed. and comp. N. Tʿoramanyan (Erevan, 1968), in letter to Davitʿ Zavryan on July 11, 1919, note 3 for letter no. 146, 440-41. In a letter he sent to the Armenian Republic's Investigative Commission on Losses Incurred by the People During the World War on January 9 (22), 1919, Tʿoramanyan itemized the numerous works that were found in his personal archives, which had been destroyed or had vanished in Karakilisa (Vanadzor), including an extensive study on the architecture of Armenian gravestones (*Namakner*, note 1 to letter no. 143, 430-39).

restoration, of the surviving monuments.[101] From 2002 to 2003, archaeological excavations carried out by a French team at Ani uncovered an empty tomb, as well as several intact tombs, among a series of structures to the east of the Mother Cathedral (fig. 12). These appear to be funerary chapels and the single apse of the middle structure is readily visible. The empty tomb has been conjectured to have belonged to Katranidē (fig. 13), while the intact tombs belonged to Armenian priests (figs. 16-18). These have recently been vandalized and plundered by looters (figs. 14-17).[102] It is difficult to gauge how much destruction these structures have suffered since 1920.

In examining the physical evidence special consideration must be reserved for the monuments at Hoṛomos (fig. 21). The monastic complex's association with the Bagratuni kings is not fully clear. The site was gradually enlarged during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and apparently fell under the control of several minor Armenian noblemen serving in the armies of the Zakʿarean princes.[103] It played host to a prolific scriptorium during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, but the complex was to suffer serious damage in the centuries to follow. It was continuously renovated, and there were still a good number of standing buildings to be counted at the time of the Russian annexation.[104] There was, *inter alia*,

[101] This has been meticulously documented by architectural historian Steven Sim on VirtualAni.org. See especially http://www.virtualani.org/history/part3.htm, February 5, 2005. Accessed October 2, 2011.

[102] The full reports of the team's findings, released in 2002 and 2003, were unavailable to me. I am indebted to Steven Sim for communicating this information. Cuneo, *Ani*, 8, speaks of "Gagik's mausoleum," in an apparent reference to Katranidē's funerary chapel, and says that a model of it once existed but has since "disappeared." A two dimensional drawing of Ani at the History Museum of Armenia in Erevan, which offers a creative, if largely conjectural, reconstruction of the city during its heyday, does depict, among a series of gravestones, a chapel and what appear to be two funerary chapels enclosed within the courtyard of the Mother Cathedral. One of these chapels might be a depiction of the martyrium of the Armenian saint Hṛipʿsimē, which Catholicos Xačʿik I Aršaruni (973-92) had erected next to the Mother Cathedral (see Vardan Arewelcʿi, 90).

[103] Artashes Vruyr relates a popular legend that held that at the remains of a columned hall at Hoṛomos stood the royal court of justice. The cases that were brought before the court were sometimes overseen by the king, whose arrival from Ani was heralded by the pealing of the bells from the two towers of Hoṛomos' victory arch: Vruyr, *Anium*, 100.

[104] Father Minas Bžškeancʿ, who traveled across the Širak plain in the 1820s, visited Hoṛomos and reported seeing "cradle-type tombstones of the kings, hewn from red rock": M. Bžškeancʿ, *Čanaparhordutʿiwn i Lehastan* [Travel into Poland] (Venice, 1830), 70. Were there more tombs like the one purported to be Ašot III's? Unfortunately, not much can be made out of this important but brief and very casual remark. On the condition of Hoṛomos in the mid-nineteenth century, see Sargisean, *Tełagrutʿiwnkʿ*, 143-68 and J. Ussher, *A Journey from London to Persepolis, including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia* (London, 1865), 245.

the Church and *žamatun* of St. John (Surb Yovhannēs), the Churches (deemed chapels by some) of Sts. George and Minas (Surb Gēorg and Surb Minas), the chapel of Xatʻun of Ani, the mausoleum of Hečup Vahram, the mausoleum and chapels of Ṙuzukʻan and Vačʻē, the *žamatun* and mausoleum of Aṙiwc, the two towers of a collapsed victory arch, and the supposed sarcophagus and funerary chapel of Ašot III.[105] Marr and his archaeological team did not carry out extensive excavations at Hoṙomos but because it was such a popular stopover point during their trips to Ani many travelers had the opportunity to describe the site in detail. Visitors were taken in by an inscription on the Church of St. George and absolutely captivated by Ašot III's gravesite. The church has since fallen into permanent ruin and the tomb itself has been completely obliterated, probably on orders of the Turkish authorities.[106]

St. George is a small, rectangular domed-hall church located outside and a little to the north of the circuit that once bounded Hoṙomos (figs. 23, 24). According to an inscription inscribed on the eastern wall the church was founded as a martyrium by Gagik I.[107] The wording suggests that the inscription was inscribed sometime after his death.[108] On the west façade of St. George there is a lengthy inscription by Yovhannēs-Smbat that makes explicit reference to a royal mausoleum. It has been reproduced in full below:

[105] The literature on Hoṛomos is voluminous. See for example S. Ēpʻrikean, *Patker-azard bnašxarik baṛaran* [Illustrated geographic dictionary], 2 vols. (Venice, 1902, 1905), 2: 218-29; Ł. Ališan, *Širak, tełagrutʻiwn patkeracʻoycʻ* [Širak, an illustrated toponymy] (Venice, 1881), 18-34; Tʻoramanyan, *Nyutʻer*, 1: 298-305; N. and J. M. Thierry, "Notes sur des monuments arméniens en Turquie," *REArm* 2 (1965), 169-70; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 1: 378-84 ; and most recently Thierry, *Le couvent arménien*, and A. Baladian, J. M. Thierry (eds.) with a contribution by J. P. Mahé, *Le couvent de Hoṙomos d'après les archives de Toros Toramanian*, Monuments et Mémoires De La Fondation Eugène Piot 81 (Paris, 2002).

[106] For a general assessment of the current status of Armenian monuments in Turkey, see D. Kouymjian, "The Destruction of Armenian Historical Monuments as a Continuation of the Turkish Policy of Genocide," in *A Crime of Silence: The Armenian Genocide*, ed. G. Libaridian (London, 1985), 173-85; *idem*, "Le sort des monuments architecturaux arméniens depuis les voyages de H. F. B. Lynch," in *Fragments d'un discours d'Arménie: photographies originales de H. F. B. Lynch*, A. and B. Achdjian (Paris, 1990), 3-7.

[107] "*Ով հոչակաւոր դու և անճանուդդ ի վկայս սուրբ Գէորգիոս, աւգնեա՛ բարեխաւսութեամբ Գագկայ Շահանշահի չինողի զվկայարանս զայս քոյով անուանակոչութեամբ ի քոյդ յուսակնեալ բարեխաւսութիւն. զի ընկալցի զողորմութիւն ի Քրիստոսէ Աստուծոյ յանվախճան արքայութեանն ընդ ամենայն արդարացեալսն ապաշաւանաւք հասանել լուսոյ փառաց Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ ի վերջնում գիչերին ի ծագել անձի և աներեկ առաւաւտին այցելութիւն գտանել առաջի բենին և անաչառ դատաւորին, աղաչեմք*": Manučʻaryan, *Kʻnnutʻyun Hayastani*, 154.

[108] Manučʻaryan, *Kʻnnutʻyun Hayastani*, 153-54.

> In the 1616th Olympiad from the coming into being of Creation, in the 260th of the Incarnation of God and in the year 485 of the Armenian era [March 12, 1036–March 11, 1037], I, Smpat Šahanšah, son of Gagik Šahanšah, gave my village of Saharunikʻ to the resting place of our kings at the universally renowned monastery of Horomos for the remission of our sins and decreed that at St. George four of the fortieth day requiem services [be performed] for Gagik and, after my death, two for me and two for Gagik until the arrival of the Lord, in witness of Tēr Petros, Katʻołikos of Armenians [Petros I Getadarj, 1022/23-58], and the prelacy of this holy convent of Frs. Sargis and Gēorg. Now, if the abbots and the attendants of this holy church should create impediments to our commemoration, they shall be responsible for our sins before Christ. Now, if anyone of our elders or juniors, whether they are from ours or are from foreigners, should come to oppose us and seize this village with its inn and its arch, let him be deprived of Christ, like the God-killing Judas, of the Holy Trinity, and may Christ's Holy Seal accompany him so in life and death, and may all the sins and curses fall upon his head from the time of Adam to the coming of Christ. I resolutely ask this from him, should God will it.[109]

In style and tone, this inscription is very similar to the one inscribed on the west door of the *žamatun* of the Church of St. John, carried out on instruction of Yovhannēs-Smbat in 1038. Both include the endowment of properties to the monastery as sources of income, the reference to historical personages in the same order, and the casting of maledictions against those who would oppose the king's wishes. The two do lack some uniformity. While the king is referred to as "Smpat Šahanšah" in the former, on the latter he is called "Yovhannēs Šahanšah."[110] The dating systems also vary between the two. The simultaneous use of three different dating systems in the former inscription is a unique phenomenon

[109] " *'ի ՌՈՁԺ ղըմպհադի լինելութեան արարածոց ՄԿ ղըմպհադի այ մարմնանալոյ եւ 'ի ՆՁԸ ԹՎՀ ես սմպատ չահանշահ որդի գագկա չահանշահի եսու պիմ գեղս զսահառունիս 'ի մեր հանգստարանս թագաւորաց 'ի տիեզերահռչակ վանսս հոռոմոսի վասն մեր մեղաց թողութեան եւ գրեցի 'ի սբ գորգ* [sic] *յամենայն տարի զ քառասունք գագկա եւ 'ի վախճանիլն իմ բ ինձ եւ բ գագկա մինչ 'ի գալուստ տեառն վկայութեամբ տն պետրոսի հայոց կաթողիկոսի եւ յառաջնորդութեան ս բ ուխտիս հաւր սարգսի եւ գէորգա արդ եթէ յառաջնորդաց եւ 'ի սպասաւորաց սբ եկեղեցոյս յայս յիշատակէս խափանէ մեղաց մերոց պարտական է առաջի քր արդ թէ ոք 'ի մեծաց կամ 'ի փոքունց 'ի մերոց կամ յօտարաց* [sic] *հակառակ կա եւ յապշտակէ զգեղն կամարաւն եւ փնդռւն զրկեալ լիցի նա 'ի քէ որպէս զուզա ա ծասպան որոշիցի 'ի ս բ երրորդութենէն եւ 'ի քր սբ նշանէն կապեալ եղիցի կենաւք եւ ձահւուանք եւ ամենայն մեղք եւ անէծք յառաջա մինչ 'ի գալուստն քր 'ի նմանէ խնդրեսցի հաստատուն եթէ ած կամի:"* Sargisean, *Tełagrutʻiwnkʻ*, 166. This inscription was subsequently republished by Ališan, *Širak*, 31, by Thierry, *Le couvent arménien*, 79, and by Baladian et al., *Le couvent de Hořomos*, 172, with an accompanying French translation.

[110] The errors in syntax in the inscription on the *žamatun* of Church of St. John have given rise to the suspicion that it was restored at a later time: Manučʻaryan, *Kʻnutʻyun Hayastani*, 154-55.

that is not encountered too often in the epigraphic record of the period.[111] The use of the ancient Greek dating system is most probably a product of the renewed infusion of Hellenistic culture in Armenia, which seems to have taken a hold there in the early part of the eleventh century. For all the inscription's peculiarities, there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.[112]

The sarcophagus (figs. 26-28) many believe to contain the remains of Ašot III stood slightly to the northeast of St. George, adjacent to a single nave chapel (fig. 25). There was another tomb, also now-demolished, situated directly to the southeast base of St. George, that was nearly identical in appearance to the one near the chapel and this apparently has led to some confusion in ascribing both tombs to Ašot III (figs. 22). The tomb located near the chapel measured at about 2.5 meters in length and sat upon two rectangular stone steps with a raised mount on its eastern end. The bishop Grigoris Balakian, who visited Hoṛomos in the summer of 1909, was told by witnesses that another funerary chapel had once stood over the tomb itself and had collapsed only recently.[113] The eminent writer and historian Leo had visited Hoṛomos in June 1903 and described the dilapidated state of the tomb in a colorful language that was so characteristic of his writings:

> Lined up alongside Ašot's cheerless rocks are small openings. You would think that some mice have poked the holes. But the mice have done no such thing. Rather, it is man thirsting after eternal riches, man who is capable of committing any crime for the sake of gold. The name "king" has become the cause of these appalling ruins. It is because of it, perhaps, that they have erased and removed Ašot's construction, leaving behind only a single piece of a wall.[114]

All those who visited this tomb reported seeing an inscription carved on its southern side, although it seems that it was regularly effaced and rewritten from time to time. At the time of Father Sargisean's visit the

[111] For a few other examples, see A. A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* (Oxford, 2008), 431-32.

[112] An analysis of this inscription is also presented in Baladian et al., *Le couvent de Horomos*, 172-73.

[113] G. Balakian, *Nkaragruťiwn Anii aweraknerun* [A description of the ruins of Ani] (Constantinople, 1910), 70. It is thought that a *xačʿkʿar* was once surmounted on this end but it is doubtful that such an imposing structure would be built in such a constricted space if a funerary chapel once stood over the tomb.

[114] Leo, *Ani*, 128-29.

inscription simply read "ԱՇՈՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ" (King Ašot).[115] By the time of M. F. Brosset's writing, almost twenty years later, the inscription had been transformed to read, "ՄԵԾՆ ԱՇՈՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ" (The Great Ašot, King of the Armenians).[116] The inscription seen in an engraving of the tomb that was published by Father Łewond Ališan in 1883 partially reads, "ԱՇՈՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ" (Ašot, King of the Armenians), with the first few characters preceding it in so badly mangled a shape as to make them near illegible.[117] Later observers would record seeing either "ԱՇՈՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ" or "ԱՇՈՏ ՈՂՈՐՄԱԾ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ" (Ašot the Merciful, King of the Armenians).[118] The clumsily written scripts, which lacked the elegance of the inscriptions found on the churches at Ani, Hoṛomos, and elsewhere, were of course new additions, what Marr sarcastically dismissed as the "latest exercises in epigraphy" that the tourists of Ani were busying themselves with.[119] Balakian was himself told that the local parish priest had recently ordered someone to carve a new inscription on the tomb because he thought the old one was not clear enough to read.[120]

For Leo, it was clear that Ašot's tomb had been looted by grave robbers.[121] But the disappearance of the original inscription was slightly more difficult for him to explain. That the original inscription was effaced for one reason or another at some point in time cannot be ruled out.[122]

[115] Sargisean, *Tełagrutʿiwnkʿ*, 165.

[116] Brosset, *Les ruines d'Ani*, 1: 61.

[117] Ališan, *Širak*, 31.

[118] Lynch, who stopped at Hoṛomos during his trip to Ani in October 1893, recalls reading "Ashot Thagavor" (Lynch, *Armenia*, 1: 389). Ēpʿrikean, *Patkerazard bnašxarik baṛaran*, 2: 227, says the date ՆԻԶ [977] was also observed at one point in time.

[119] Marr, "Ani," 202.

[120] Balakian, *Nkaragrutʿiwn Anii aweraknerun*, 70.

[121] Leo, *Ani*, 129, note 1, relates even reading an article published in the newspaper *Mshak*, whose author complained of a local priest engaging in such activities at Hoṛomos. He also presents examples of grave robbers rummaging through the tombs of Armenian princes in Karabagh (ibid., 128).

[122] Leo came around to this idea over a decade later, when writing his three-volume *magnum opus*, *History of Armenia*: "He [Ašot III] is the first Armenian king whose tomb has survived to this day. On a small hill in the valley of Hoṛomos Monastery, on the right bank of the Akhurian River, are the ruins of several chapels. We know from an inscription on one of these chapels, that of St. George, that the mausoleum of the Bagratunis was located in this area. At present, only one tomb is to be seen — an enormous cradle-type stone, which is situated upon a platform raised by two steps. That stone has an inscription: 'Ašot Ołormac, Hayocʿ Tagawor.' But the style of the characters and the inscription leave no doubt that the script is the work of relatively recent times and it can therefore be concluded that it is only the echo of a tradition. The remnants of walls can be seen nearby the

It is possible that the Armenians villagers who were carving the new inscriptions in the nineteenth century and later were adhering to a local tradition that held that Ašot III was buried there. Indeed, to the east of this tomb was another which was commonly believed to belong to Ašot's consort, Xosrovanuyš.[123] And yet, Hoṛomos was also the resting place of a multitude of minor princes and noblewomen whose burial sites, dated to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, have been more conclusively identified than Ašot's, though their tombs have not been preserved to allow for proper comparison. It is possible that this sarcophagus may have belonged to one of these later princes and that over time it was confused and assigned to Ašot III. Sadly, the dispersal of Hoṛomos' Armenian population after 1920, among whom a folklore or oral tradition may have been preserved, makes it difficult to give a more conclusive answer to this question.

Conclusions and an Attempt at Reconstruction

What emerges from this mixed picture is the prospect that the Bagratuni kings were buried in as many as four separate locations. To put this into perspective, the graph below recounts what the evidence has thus far confirmed or suggested. Included in the chart is Ašot IV, who, it will be remembered, was recognized as king of all of Greater Armenia with the exception of the capital Ani, which was left under the control of his feeble brother Yovhannēs-Smbat. Not included is Ašot *sparapet*, the Bagratuni prince who was conferred with a crown by Yūsuf, in opposition to King Ašot II.

tomb. Perhaps the real inscription was located on one of these destroyed walls and, after they collapsed, some people may have inscribed the king's name upon the tomb:" Leo, *Erkeri Žołovacu*, 2: 591.

Though Leo was emphatic in his belief that the burial tombs of the Bagratunis were found at Hoṛomos, he was unable to avoid contradicting himself when narrating the history of the Bagratuni kingdom in the *History of Armenia*. While he writes (Leo, *Erkeri Žołovacu*, 2: 618) that Gagik I was "in all probability" buried next to his father Ašot III at the royal mausoleum at Hoṛomos, several pages later he says that Kings Ašot IV and Yovhannēs-Smbat were buried in the "ancestral sepulcher of the Bagratuni kings" (*Բագրատունի թագաւորների տոհմային գերեզմանատունը*) in Ani (Ibid., 2: 662, 664), without addressing the contradiction.

[123] Ališan, *Širak*, 30; Ēp'rikean, *Patkerazard bnašxarik baṛaran*, 2: 227.

Name of king	Place of deposition confirmed in the literary record	Place of deposition confirmed or suggested in physical record
Ašot I	Bagaran	N/A
Smbat I	Kt'anoc' (Artsvanist)	Ōjun (?)
Ašot II	N/A	N/A
Abas I	N/A	N/A
Ašot III	N/A	Hoṛomos (?)
Smbat II	Ani	N/A
Gagik I	N/A	Ani (?)/Hoṙomos (?)
Yovhannēs-Smbat/Smbat III	Ani	Hoṙomos (?)
Ašot IV	Ani	N/A
Gagik II	Pizu	N/A

The most obvious gaps in the literary and physical record have proved to be problematic enough, obliging us to guess the probable burial locations of kings Ašot II and Abas I. With the settled conditions of the kingdom during the late 920s and with no particular town or city which could readily be associated with the king, Ašot II was most probably buried alongside his forebears at the Bagaran mausoleum. The poorly documented record of the reign of Abas I makes it impossible to pronounce any statement with a degree of certainty. Bagaran may have been where his predecessors were interred but the embellishment of Kars was his personal accomplishment and perhaps he would have chosen to be buried there.

When considering the issue of the burial sites of Ašot III and that of his successors, the overarching question arises: does one take the word of the contemporary chroniclers and historians who said the royal mausoleum was in Ani as well as the inscription on Queen Katranidē's chapel or the testimony of the inscription on St. George and a single sarcophagus which has no genuine markings to allow for proper identification? My personal view is that the credibility of the literary sources and that of the inscription are evenly balanced. While there is no reason to question the authenticity of the St. George inscription, the sarcophagus, with its attendant uncertainties, cannot be accepted as a valid piece of evidence. It is, admittedly, difficult to square Yovhannēs-Smbat's statement that Hoṛomos was the "resting place of our kings" (*mer hangstarans t'agaworac'*) with the information found in Asołik's *Universal History*, Matthew of Edessa's

Chronicle, and the other literary sources. Asołik, though prone to reveal his biases, is nevertheless a thoroughly reliable author and his account of Smbat II's death, or at least the king's burial in Ani, can be taken as accurate. The first few pages of Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle*, it is true, is beset with numerous inaccuracies and inconsistencies, where Matthew confuses the names of the Bagratuni kings and other individuals of the period and ascribes incorrect dates to different events. Muddled as his chronology may be, these mistakes do not impair the general reliability of the information he transmits and some can actually be attributed to scribal error. But what is of greater significance is that the sources Matthew used for the basis of the latter half of the history of the Bagratuni kingdom were written by individuals who had not only witnessed but participated in the most momentous events in the years leading to its annexation. The works of Yakob Sanahnecʻi and Yovhannēs Kozeṛn were, after all, concerned with the history of their own times.

A brief glance at the burial practices of the Bagratunis' contemporaries reveals some degrees of variance. The tombs of the other kings in Armenia were found in difficult to reach places, though not always at their seats of residence. The burial chamber of the Kiwrikian kings of Loṛi and their family members were spread among the Church of the Holy Virgin at the monastic complex of Sanahin, the *žamatun* at Hałpat, and the tenth-century Church of St. Gregory in Hałarcin[124] that of the Arcrunis' was located at the now completely ruined monastic complex of Varagavankʻ (Yedi Kilise) in Varag, a town (now the small village of Bakraçlı) built upon the southern slope of Mt. Varag (Erek Dağı), seven kilometers east of Lake Van.[125] In accordance with his will the last Arcruni king

[124] O. Kh. Ghalpakhtchian and A. Alpago-Novello, *Sanahin*, Documenti di architettura armena/Documents of Armenian Architecture, 3 (Milan, 1980), 5. *CIArm*, eds. S. A. Avagyan and H. M. J̌anpʻoladyan, 6: 21, 59, no. 118; I. B. Ēllaryan, *Ałstevi hovti patmutʻyan ev kulturayi hušarjannerě* [The historical and cultural monuments of Ałstev valley] (Erevan, 1980), 54; K. G. Łafadaryan, *Sanahin vankě ev nra arjanagrutʻyunnerě* [The monastery of Sanahin and its inscriptions] (Erevan, 1957), 171, no. 144; *idem, Hałpat: čartarapetakan kaŕucʻvacknerě ev vimakan arjanagrutʻyunnerě* [Hałpat, architectural constructions and lapidary inscriptions] (Erevan, 1963), 26, 182-83. O. Kh. Ghalpakhtchian and A. Alpago-Novello, *Sanahin*, Documenti di architettura armena/Documents of Armenian Architecture, 3 (Milan, 1980), 5. The tomb of "King Smbat" found at the Church of St. Gregory in Hałarcin certainly does not belong, as some scholars have been wont to believe, to King Smbat II Bagratuni, who it was shown above was buried in Ani. This Smbat was probably the brother of David Anhołin: see Movsēsian, "Loŕi et l'histoire de la famille Bagratide," 234, 240.

[125] The anonymous continuator of Tʻovma Arcruni calls Varagvankʻ a *mayrakʻałakʻ*, literally "mother city", but better understood to mean capital: Tʻovma Arcruni, *Patmutʻiwn tann Arcruneacʻ*, 476

Senekʿerim-Yovhannēs, who had exchanged his kingdom for lands in Sebasteia, and his consort Xušuš were also buried at the Varagvankʿ. There seems to be some confusion on which structure specifically the Arcrunis were buried. The British traveler H. F. B. Lynch was told in 1893 by the Armenian priests then resident at Varagvankʿ that they were entombed under the floor of the *žamatun* of St. George which was attached to the Church of the Holy Virgin,[126] while the nineteenth-century traveler and ethnographer Garegin Srvandztiants even says that he took part in unearthing the remains of Senekʿerim-Yovhannēs and Queen Xušuš.[127] Modern commentators have dismissed these tombs as forgeries and Matthew of Edessa is very clear when he writes that Senekʿerim-Yovhannēs, who died ca. 1025, was buried next "to his ancestors" at Varag's Monastery of the Cross of the Crucifixion.[128] We know that the Siwnid princes were buried together at their family mausoleum, and that princes and kings from this line eventually came to be interred at the monastic complex in Tatʿew.[129] Both princes had lavishly embellished the monastic complex and endowed it with estates and landed properties. The location of the burial tombs of the three kings of Kars is not known.

Some members of the Armenian princely dynasts, the most prominent among them being the Pahlawunis, are also known to have been buried at Ani. In the year 1040 the *marzpan* (military commander) Prince Aplłarip Pahlawuni completed the construction of his family's mausoleum, which was found next to the Church of St. Gregory (Abułamrencʿ Surb Grigor) and the two chapels (*senak*) of Sts. Stephen and Christopher (Surb Stepʿannos and Surb Kʿristapʿor); the chapels have not survived. The Church of St. Gregory is dated to the year 994 and was built on the very western edge of the city, overlooking the Całkocʿajor Valley. In 1907 Marr's team uncovered three tombs, placed side by side, in the L-shaped mausoleum. The inscription by Aplłarip mentions his father Grigor, his brother Hamzē, and his sister Seda. Aplłarip Pahlawuni's decision to construct a new mausoleum at Ani and to not make use of the existing one at the monastic complex at Marmašēn (Marmarašēn), a village on a flat plain located at a distance of about forty kilometers northeast of Ani, is somewhat enigmatic. The main church (Katʿołikē) had been commissioned by the *sparapet* Vahram Pahlawuni and construction had begun during

[126] Lynch, *Armenia*, 2: 115

[127] G. Srvandztiants, *Erker* [Works], 2 vols. (Erevan, 1982), 2: 28-29.

[128] Mattʿēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 64; Ačaryan, *AnjB*, 4: 479-80.

[129] Ibid., 184, 200-01, 211, 291, 318. Smbat I Sahakean (d. 998) had declared Siwnikʿ kingdom in the last quarter of the tenth century. Its independence was terminated in 1170.

the reign of Smbat II and ended only in 1029. In an inscription on the church's south wall Vahram refers to the site as the Pahlawuni mausoleum (*Հանգստեանս մերոյ*).[130] Security concerns may have played a role in Aplłarip's decision-making, and we know from contemporary sources that Marmašēn during this time was a "well-fortified city, whose wall was of large, solid stones, bound with lead and iron." [Ibn al Athir footnote] It is significant to note that Vahram himself was buried there following his death in 1045/46. His tomb (fig. 20) has survived, although the slab with the inscription that is now mounted over it is a modern construct, erected sometime in the nineteenth century.[131]

A few remarks regarding the burial practices of the kings of the junior branch of the Bagratuni (Bagrationi) line in Iberia are also warranted. Iberia itself was a land of many crowns and had enjoyed little stability until the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when its territories were unified and the country witnessed a political and cultural revival. The Georgian primary sources do a slightly more adequate job in providing information on burials. They indicate that while the kings were entombed near churches closely affiliated to the family, the locations of the burials varied.[132] During his lengthy reign, Bagrat III (r. 978-1014) patronized a number of churches and monasteries, including the cathedral of Bedia, where he was eventually buried.[133] King Giorgi I (1014-27) was entombed at Kutaisi Cathedral,[134] which was built by his predecessor, while his successor Bagrat IV (1027-72) was buried at the monastery at Chkondidi (Martvili),[135] itself originally constructed by King Giorgi II of Abkhazia in the mid-ninth century.[136] In the twelfth century the chronicles mention the monastery complex in Gelati (in modern western Georgia) as the burial place of kings David IV (1073-1125), his son Demetre I (ca. 1093-1156), and Queen Tamar (1184-1213).[137]

[130] Ališan, *Širak*, 148.

[131] See also the recent article by Michael Stone on the Ōrbēlian mausoleum, "The Orbelian Family Cemetery Ełegis, Vayoc Jorʿ, Armenia," *REArm* 33 (2011), 213-37.

[132] On Georgian churches in general, see A. Alpago Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia*, trans. N. Holloway (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980).

[133] *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation, trans. with introduction and commentary by R. W. Thomson (Oxford, 1996), 279-81.

[134] Ibid., 286.

[135] Ibid., 306.

[136] Ibid., 267-68.

[137] *The Georgian Chronicle: The Period of Giorgi Lasha*, text edited by S. Qaukhchishvili, trans. K. Vivian (Amsterdam, 1991), 50, 91.

Svetitskhoveli cathedral in Mtskheta is given as King Giorgi III's (r. 1156-1184) place of entombment.[138]

Though the paltry sources reveal little beyond time and location, there existed a constant interaction among the Armenian princely families and their neighbors to the north. Dominant cultural practices and customs were emulated and represented in new forms. The particularly intense and bitter rivalry between the Arcrunis and Bagratunis at the turn of the tenth century manifested itself in the cultivation of their own respective ideologies, symbols, and interpretations of royal power.[139] It was during this time that the practice of church foundation evolved into a kind of competition among the Armenian potentates.[140] The kings in Kars and Loṛi went to similar lengths to match the splendor of their cousins in Ani, borrowing and developing different styles and technique in an attempt to assert their independence through the medium of art.[141] These correlations and divergences certainly encourage further studies on the surviving examples of Christian Caucasian funerary monuments.

With these points in mind, it is now time to consider the practical problems that Ašot III and his successors would have taken into account in selecting their burial sites. The absence of concrete sources in the case of Ašot III gives way to speculation, but I am of the belief that the security of a site would undoubtedly have been of paramount importance for him. It seems highly unlikely that Ašot, who held such great affection for his beloved capital, would have selected such an exposed site as Hoṛomos as the location of his final resting place, and even more so after having so recently established his new capital at Ani. Granted, the distance from Ani to Hoṛomos was only about fifteen kilometers, but as a very pious king, the safety of his body and the expectation of prayers of intercession to be read regularly on behalf of his soul would have been foremost on his mind. A fortified position like Ani, with the superb protection that the walls and other defensive fortifications offered,

[138] Ibid., 54.

[139] On this, see S. P. Cowe, "Relations Between the Kingdoms of Vaspurakan and Ani," *Armenian Van/Vaspurakan*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian, UCLA Armenian History and Culture Series: Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, 1 (Costa Mesa, CA, 2000), 73-85.

[140] Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, 1: cols. 1018-19.

[141] On royal portraiture during this period, see L. Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aghtʿamar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Burlington, VT, 2007); along with D. Kouymjian's necessary corrective in "An Interpretation of Bagratid and Artsruni Art and Ceremony: A Review Essay," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 18 (2009), 111-31.

would have proved to be a far more appealing location to safeguard the remains of the king than Hoṛomos.[142]

That Hoṛomos could effortlessly be attacked and pillaged is most visibly demonstrated by the Sallārid raid of 982.[143] Smbat II would have been well aware of this danger and his concerns would have figured in his reasoning to be buried in Ani. Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi's description of Hoṛomos as merely an inn for travelers and merchants, and not the site of the royal mausoleum, reinforces the contention that the monastery served no such purpose in the opening years of the eleventh century. By the time of the accession of Gagik I, the king would have had little incentive to abandon the splendor and comforts of the royal capital. As noted above, Gagik's tomb is believed to have been in a small chapel adjacent to the Mother Cathedral. Gagik had provided the funds for the construction of the majestic church, although his association with it was not as evident as Katranidē's. He was better known for sponsoring the construction of the circular church of St. Gregory, which had been completed in ca. 1000. That church, though exquisite in appearance and bold in design, within just a few years after its completion was on the verge of complete collapse. The church may have been structurally unsound or may have been built on unstable ground but in 1013 emergency repairs were undertaken. Gagik would certainly have been wary of this and it seems that by the time of the Seljūq siege in 1064 it was already lying in ruins.[144] Given

[142] Many of the most prominent cities of medieval Armenia, such as Ani, Dwin, Kars, Manzikert, Karin (Theodosioupolis, Ḳālīḳalā), Npʿrkert (Martyropolis, Mayyāfārik̲īn), and Van, were ensconced by at least a single line of walls. On Armenian cities of the medieval period, consult Tʿ. X. Hakobyan, *Hayastani patmakan ašxarhagrutʿyun* [Historical geography of Armenia], 2nd ed. (Erevan, 1986; repr. Erevan, 2007), 281-83; B. N. Aṛakʿelyan, *Kʿałakʿnerě ev arhestnerě Hayastanum IX-XIII darerum* [The cities and the crafts in Armenia in the IX-XIII centuries], 2 vols. (Erevan, 1958-64); and H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1965), 129-72. The petty princes and noblewomen who were buried at Hoṛomos in the later centuries might not have had many options when it came to selecting their burial sites.

[143] Tʿoramanyan, *Nyutʿer*, 1: 300, argues that the modern reading of the word *vankʿ*, used by Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi in his passage on the description of the raid, should not necessarily be construed to mean a monastery since in Classical Armenian it was also used to denote a "house," "dwelling," or "shelter." He consequently points out that Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi's use of the verb *ayreacʿ* (այրեաց; "burned") cannot possibly be applied to a church built from stone and concludes that the Sallārids were responsible for destroying the wooden houses in the surrounding countryside, rather than the monastic complex itself. Even if this is what Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi meant to convey, this should not at all distract us from appreciating the precarious position Hoṛomos occupied.

[144] Its collapse may be attributed to a severe earthquake that struck Ani during the mid-eleventh century: see Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 1: 307-08.

these circumstances, I find it impossible that someone other than Gagik would have been entombed next to his consort, Katranidē. To give further weight to this the posthumous inscription commissioned by the king on the church of St. George neglects to say that he was buried there.

At the time of Gagik's death, the practice of being buried in the royal capital would have been well established and it is possible that the lower princes followed suit and were buried at Ani. It is for this reason difficult to account for Yovhannēs-Smbat's attitude to break from custom and choose to be buried elsewhere. In analyzing the source material it is important to draw attention to the language used: both Yovhannēs-Smbat's inscription at St. George and the authors of the literary works employ the plural when referring to the kings buried at the mausolea. This fact notwithstanding, it is more readily understood in the literary material than in the inscription that Yovhannēs-Smbat's predecessors were buried in Ani rather than Hoṛomos. The phrase "resting place of our kings" might rather have been an indication of Yovhannēs-Smbat's desire to transfer the new mausoleum to Hoṛomos and this switch may have had some correlation to the political situation of the period. Yovhannēs-Smbat's decision to sign his kingdom over to the Byzantine Empire had never been received favorably, which might explain why in the closing years of his reign he adopted a far more assertive policy that was suggestive of his reluctance to surrender the reins of power to the Byzantines.[145] Is it possible that the king, as part of a plan to reassert his position and place it in clear contradistinction to his brother Ašot IV's, had decided to initiate a new phase of building programs? An impressive number of churches (the Church of the Holy Redeemer in Ani, the Church of St. Sergius [Surb Sargis] at Xckonkʿ) were founded during Yovhannēs-Smbat's reign, and we know from an inscription that the king himself oversaw the construction of the Church of St. John with its *žamatun* at Hoṛomos and

[145] For example, Catholicos Petros I, one of the leaders of the pro-annexation faction and the individual personally responsible for negotiating the terms of the handover of the kingdom to the Byzantine Empire, was forced to abdicate the catholicosal throne in 1037 and was later arrested by order of Yovhannēs-Smbat when he returned to Ani: Mattʿēos Uṛhayecʿi, *Žamankagrutʿiwn*, 84-86. This move, according to Matthew, was taken by the king, with the support of the nobility and army, because he had forgotten to heed the commandments of God, though it is much more probable that this decision was a reflection of Yovhannēs-Smbat's new policy. According to one interpretation, the *vestes* Sargis Haykazn, a prince and prominent figure from the pro-annexation party whom Yovhannēs-Smbat had adopted as his son and designated the heir apparent, was later rebuffed by the king, who instead chose Gagik II as his successor: T. Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours (600-1045)," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500-1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), 362.

granted it generous revenues and lands.[146] But why he would have picked Hoṛomos in particular as the new mausoleum of the Bagratuni kings remains to be seen. Ultimately, it appears that political exigencies thwarted Yovhannēs-Smbat designs: with his kingdom harried by the Seljūqs and hemmed in by the Byzantines from the west and the Shaddādid emirs of Dwin from the east, security concerns eventually may have induced the king to abandon his project to be buried outside the walls of Ani. With his brother's death in ca. 1040, moreover, such plans would have been rendered entirely superfluous.

Though one cannot insist upon this reconstruction, it does serve to explain as to why such an incongruity exists between the textual sources and the inscription. If such a reconstruction is then accepted, the question that inevitably follows is where exactly in Ani was the mausoleum located? A perusal of the primary sources yields some clues. After describing Smbat II's death and burial in Ani Asołik explains how:

> Thereafter, a certain woman from the city [Ani] recounted a dream that she had seen. She averred that "the king was laid to rest in the tomb after taking a sleep-inducing tonic, and he is alive and he appeared to me." This rumor caused a stir throughout the entire city, where it reached the point that Gagik, the brother of Smbat, gave an order to [a man]…to go unearth his brother from the grave, examine [the body], and assure the inhabitants of the city and the troops that Smbat was truly dead.[147]

Since Gagik aimed to quash the rumors revolving around his brother's death by actually exposing his grave to the entire citizenry of Ani, it can be inferred that Smbat's tomb was found at a spot of easy access to most citizens. This is suggested in Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle*, where it is mentioned twice that both the city's magnates and regular citizens assembled near the tombs and beseeched the kings for their help. A further clue is provided in Matthew's account of the Seljūq siege of Ani, when he writes that its two Byzantine governors "entrenched" themselves in the city's "upper and inner fortresses" after the Seljūqs had breached Ani's walls.[148] The fortresses Matthew speaks of must be references to the citadel (the upper) and the fortifications of the Ašotašen walls (the lesser). The sight of their retreat and the terror that spread

[146] The inscription is found on the tympanum above the west door of the *žamatun* of St. John and has been republished with French translation in Baladian et al., *Le couvent de Horomos*, 176.

[147] Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, 255.

[148] "*ամբանալ ի վերին բերդն և ի ներքին*": Matt'ēos Uṙhayecʿi, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 160; cf. Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Aristakisi Lastivertcʿwoy*, 134.

among the populace caused the major personages to fall before the tombs of the kings, though it is not immediately clear where they were when they witnessed this taking place.

Beyond this, the sources do not develop a more detailed picture of the design of the mausoleum or the appearance and layout of the tombs. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi noted in his passage on Ašot I's death that "a tomb [suitable] for royalty" was constructed, suggesting that the tombs belonging to the kings were more impressive than that of any prince or nobleman. The ideal and most logical site of the mausoleum would have been within the walled confines of the Old City (an area of about 6 to 6.5 hectares), where the most important civil and ecclesiastical structures, such as the royal palace, the treasury, archives and library, and palatine churches, were concentrated.[149] It does not seem likely that the mausoleum was an open-air cemetery and in all probability the tombs would have been found inside a *žamatun* adjoining an as yet unidentified church. It is not improbable that the kings were buried with their personal effects and other valuable objects. One should also not overlook the multiple functions the mausoleum may have served. In addition to preserving the memory of the kings, it appears to have been an important place of assembly and supplication for the populace during times of emergency, suggesting that deep respect and veneration was held for the former stewards of the state.[150]

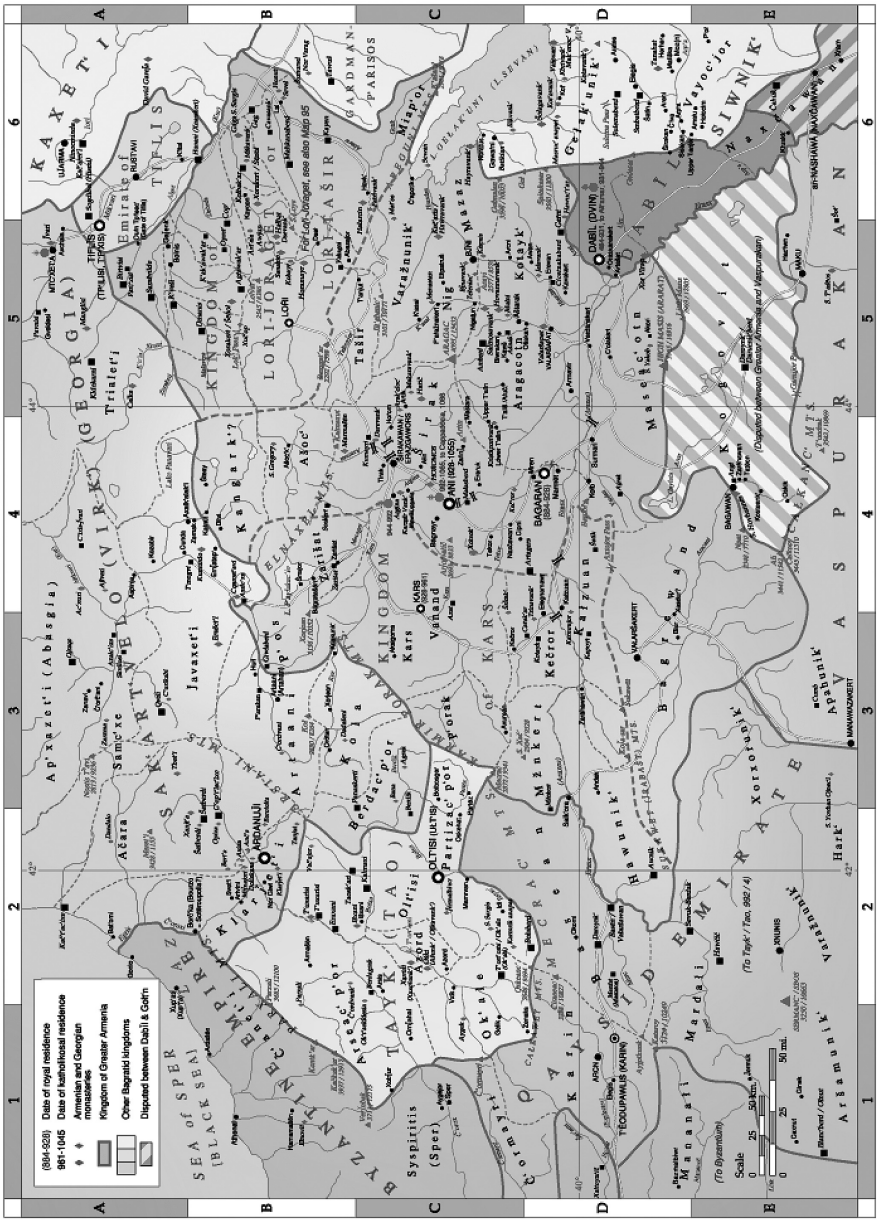
[149] Hakobyan, *Anii patmutʿyun*, 2: 222, entertains the notion of the kings being buried in the cave network outside Ani. Elaborating on the fact that the merchant Tigran Honencʿ and his relatives were entombed in these caves, he believes that the natural protection they offered against the elements would have served as an incentive for the kings to be buried there. I, however, find this theory implausible, not only because it does not at all closely adhere to what the literary and physical sources suggests, but because it would not befit the Bagratunis to be entombed in such an undignified location as a cave — the kings may have prided themselves on their piety but they did not shy away from ostentatiously displaying their magnanimity by undertaking in such grand building activities.

[150] Sentimental attachment toward mausolea seems to have been well-established in Armenia. Indeed, a quote attributed by Łewond to Prince Ašot Bagratuni (d. 804) has him counseling his fellow *naxarars* against immigrating to the Byzantine Empire, beseeching them not to abandon the "cemeteries of your ancestors": Łewond, 143-44. The custom of venerating the Armenian monarchs at their tombs was observed well into modern times, when church services were restarted for the local Armenian villagers at Ani following the Russian annexation. After the conclusion of the liturgy, the congregants would file out of the Mother Cathedral, pause for a moment in front of Katranidē's dedicatory inscription on the south façade of the church, and then proceed toward the queen's tomb, where the clergy would deliver a requiem mass for the queen. Lighting candles and burning incense at the foot of her grave, the villagers would fall to their knees and recite prayers on her behalf: Vruyr, *Anium*, 43-44."

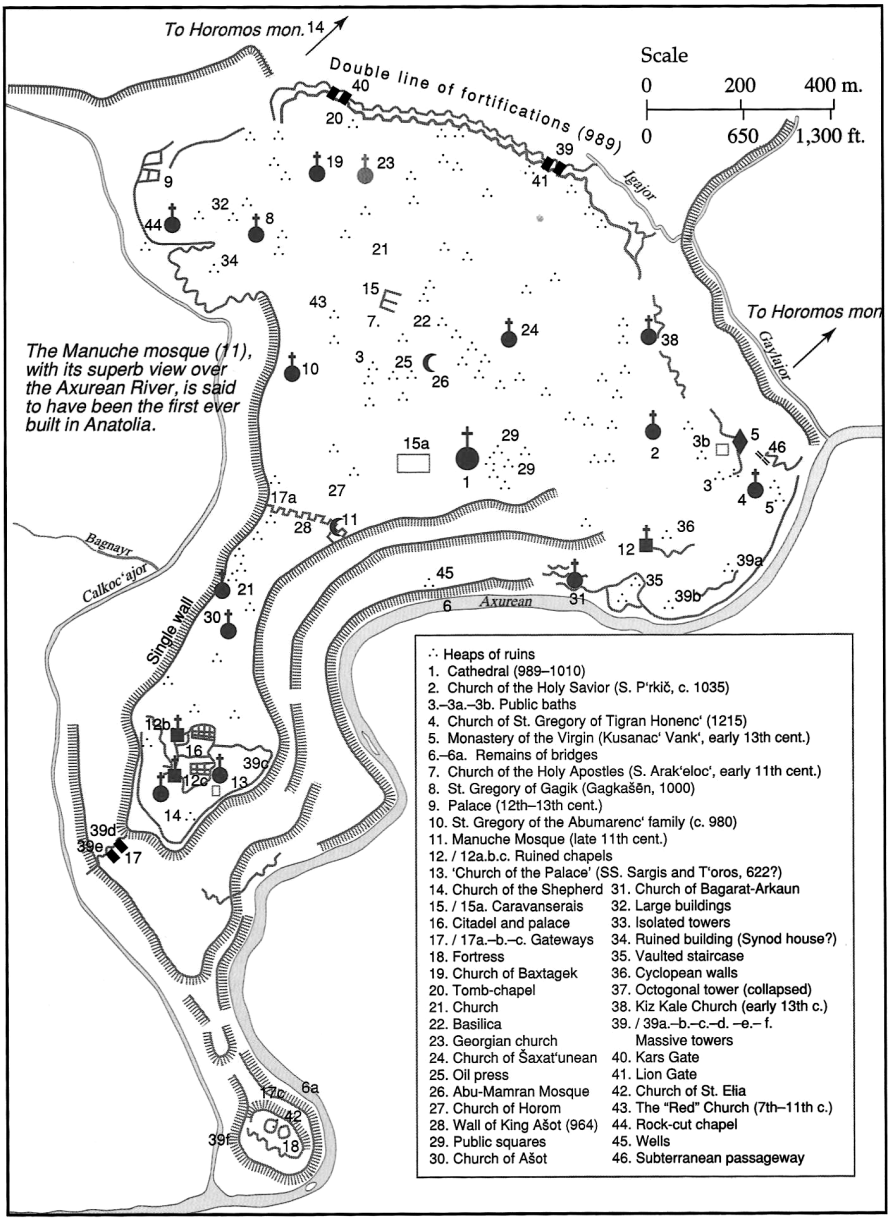
It is interesting to note that this esteem for former state leaders was also apparent in the Byzantine Empire, where we witness a similar act at the imperial mausoleum at the

It thus would appear that the Bagratuni family had at the very least three different sepulcher sites: at first being in Dariwnkʿ and then Bagaran before the establishment of the kingdom and finally at Ani at the end of the tenth century until its occupation in the mid-eleventh. Accordingly, we can speak with some confidence in placing the tombs of the Bagratuni kings, including Ašot III, Smbat II, Yovhannēs-Smbat, and Ašot IV, and their family members in Ani, and not at Hoṛomos. Gagik I and Katranidē may have been the exceptions, though the possibility of the tombs of the first Bagratuni kings being transferred and brought to Ani remains tempting. Although it is likely that the royal mausoleum was looted and eventually destroyed over the course of the centuries, discoveries in the future might reveal evidence which would alter some of the conclusions reached in this study. Archaeological excavations at Ani might assume a greater level of efficiency by making use of more developed scientific methods. They should also, ideally, be carried out in sites around Bagaran and Hoṛomos once this border region of Turkey is demined and its designation as a military zone is lifted. Expeditions might also take place around the area of Kayseri which might unearth the ruins of Pizu and Gagik II's monastery. In the end, the royal mausoleum served to legitimate the reigns and memorialize the lives and deeds of the Bagratuni kings, stirring the emotions and evoking the admiration of their subjects and of successive generations.

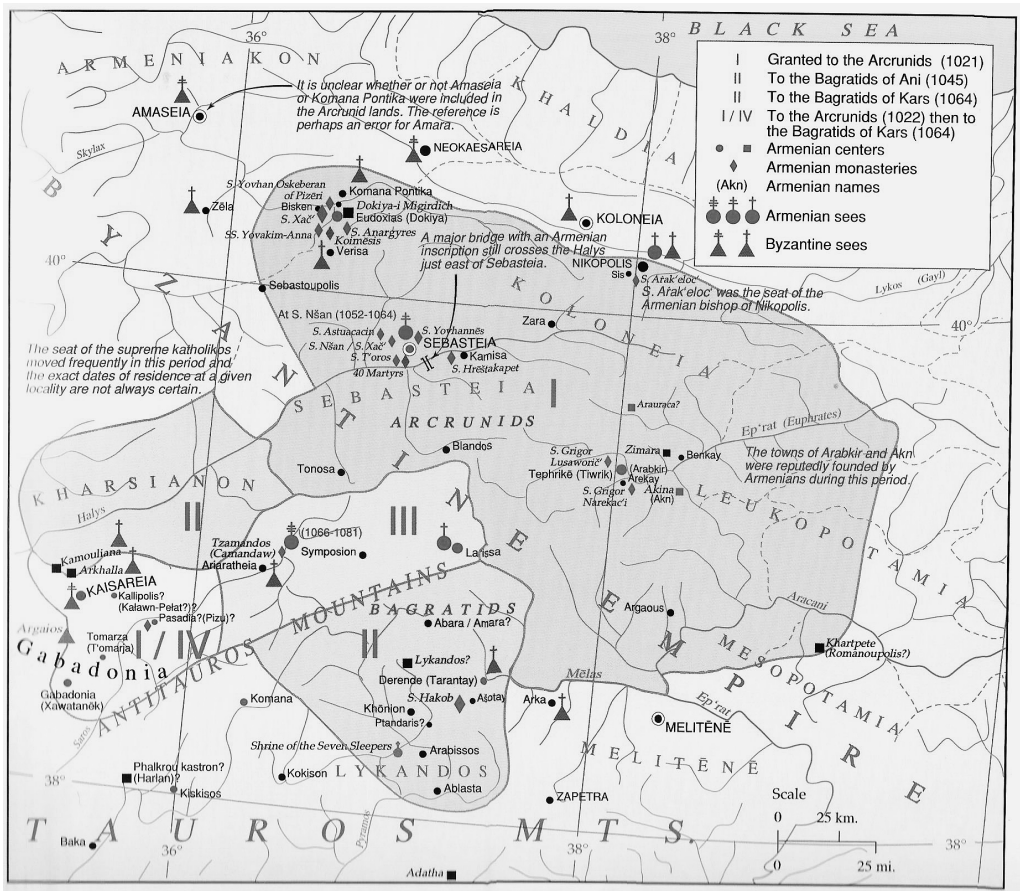
Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople during the eighth century: see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883, 1885), 1: 501; trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford, 1997), 684.



Map 1. The Bagratid Kingdoms in Armenia, 962-1064, Robert H.


To Horomos mon. 14
Double line of fortifications (989)
Scale
0 200 400 m.
0 650 1,300 ft.
Igajor
To Horomos mon
Garjajor
The Manuche mosque (11), with its superb view over the Axurean River, is said to have been the first ever built in Anatolia.
Bagnayr
Calkoc'ajor
Single wall
Axurean
∴ Heaps of ruins
1. Cathedral (989–1010)
2. Church of the Holy Savior (S. P'rkič, c. 1035)
3.–3a.–3b. Public baths
4. Church of St. Gregory of Tigran Honenc' (1215)
5. Monastery of the Virgin (Kusanac' Vank', early 13th cent.)
6.–6a. Remains of bridges
7. Church of the Holy Apostles (S. Arak'eloc', early 11th cent.)
8. St. Gregory of Gagik (Gagkašēn, 1000)
9. Palace (12th–13th cent.)
10. St. Gregory of the Abumarenc' family (c. 980)
11. Manuche Mosque (late 11th cent.)
12. / 12a.b.c. Ruined chapels
13. 'Church of the Palace' (SS. Sargis and T'oros, 622?)
14. Church of the Shepherd
15. / 15a. Caravanserais
16. Citadel and palace
17. / 17a.–b.–c. Gateways
18. Fortress
19. Church of Baxtagek
20. Tomb-chapel
21. Church
22. Basilica
23. Georgian church
24. Church of Šaxat'unean
25. Oil press
26. Abu-Mamran Mosque
27. Church of Horom
28. Wall of King Ašot (964)
29. Public squares
30. Church of Ašot
31. Church of Bagarat-Arkaun
32. Large buildings
33. Isolated towers
34. Ruined building (Synod house?)
35. Vaulted staircase
36. Cyclopean walls
37. Octogonal tower (collapsed)
38. Kiz Kale Church (early 13th c.)
39. / 39a.–b.–c.–d. –e.– f. Massive towers
40. Kars Gate
41. Lion Gate
42. Church of St. Elia
43. The "Red" Church (7th–11th c.)
44. Rock-cut chapel
45. Wells
46. Subterranean passageway

Map 2. The city of Ani, Robert H. Hewsen.



Map 3. The Armenian royal lands in Cappadocia, Robert H. Hewsen.

Fig. 1. Tombstones found in the *žamatun* attached to the Church of the All Savior at the monastic complex near Sanahin (Photo: Author).

Fig. 2. Tombstone located just outside the *žamatun* of the thirteenth-century Church of Tigran Honencʿ in Ani (Photo: Author).

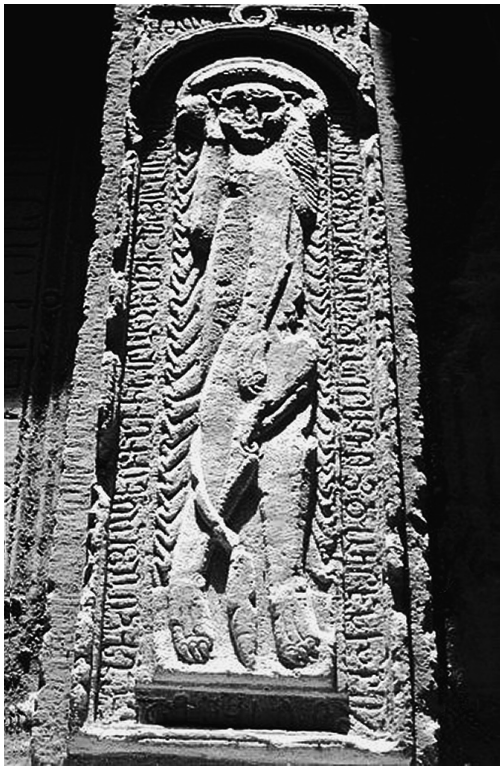


Fig. 3. The tombstone of Prince Ēlikum Ōrbēlian in the thirteenth-century Chapel of St. Gregory at the monastic complex in Noravankʿ in the Republic of Armenia's province of Vayots Dzor (Photo: Courtesy of Dickran Kouymjian).

Fig. 4. A series of tombstones (including *xačʿkʿars,* or cross stones) located at Noraduz cemetery in modern Armenia (Photo: Author).

Fig. 5. The funerary chapel of the Zakʿarean princes of Armenia at Sanahin (Photo: Courtesy of Jeffrey Rozwadowski).

Fig. 6. An exterior view of the entrance into the mausoleum of the Aršakuni kings in Ałcʿ/Jorapʿ, in the Aragatsotn province of Armenia (Photo: Courtesy of Aspet Emin).

Fig. 7. One of the tombs of the Aršakuni kings at Ałcʿ/Jorapʿ (Photo: Aspet Emin).

Fig. 8. The monastic complex of Vanevan, in the village of Artsvanist in Armenia. The Church of St. Gregory (completed in 903), where Smbat I is said to have been buried, is seen on the left (Photo: Travis K. Witt).

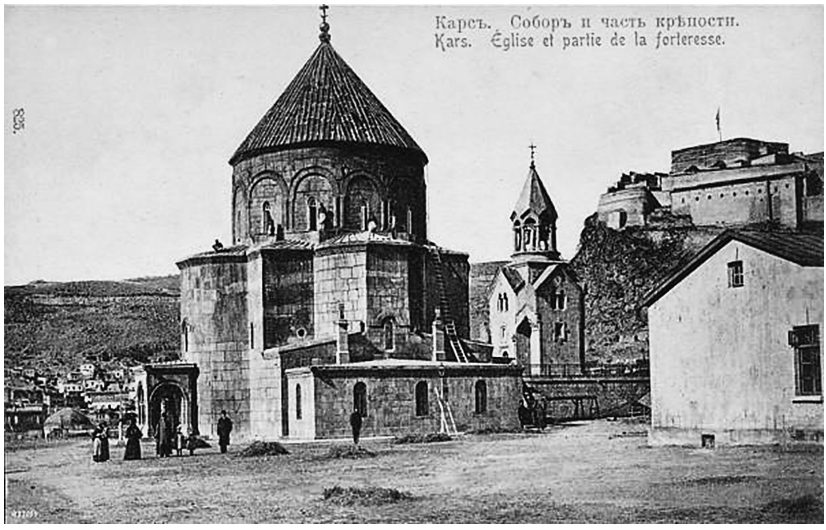


Fig. 9. The Cathedral of the Holy Apostles in Kars, constructed by King Abas I (r. 928-53), as it appeared at the end of the nineteenth century. The bell tower to the right has since been demolished and the church has been converted into a mosque (Kümbet Cami). This photo was produced as part of a postcard album on Kars in the Russian Empire (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 10. A view of the ruins of the city of Ani, looking south. The Mother Cathedral is partially seen behind the mounds on the left. The citadel is in the background, in the center-right of the photo (Photo: Author).

Fig. 11. The Mother Cathedral of Ani, completed in 1001, looking at the northwest corner (Photo: Author).

Fig. 12. Ani. A series of structures (most probably chapels) found aligned next to the east side of the Mother Cathedral (Photo: Courtesy of Steven Sim).

Fig. 13. A close-up view of the burial tomb seen in the center-right of the above photo. This has been conjectured to be the grave of Queen Katranidē (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 14. Ani. Tombs found in the northernmost structure next to the Mother Cathedral. This photo was taken in 2005 (Photo: Virtualani.org).

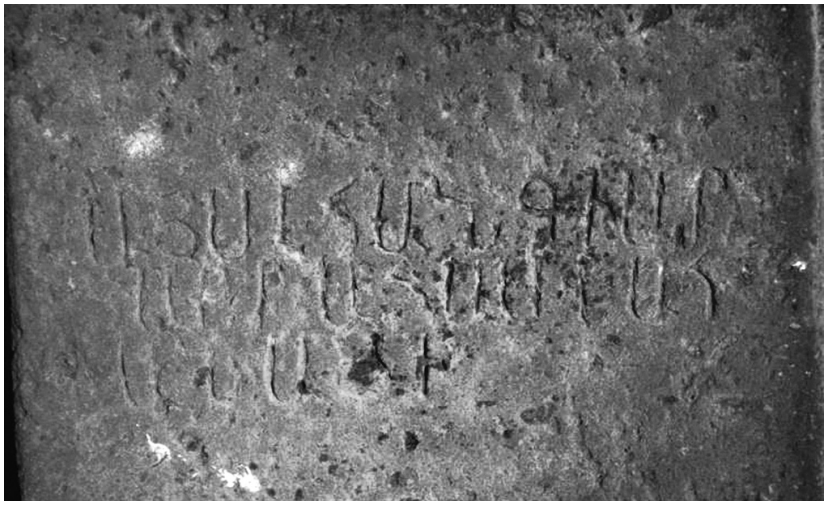


Fig. 15. The inscription on the first tomb from the above photo, which reads "Here is the resting place of Abraham Kʿahana [the Priest]…" (Photo: Steven Sim).

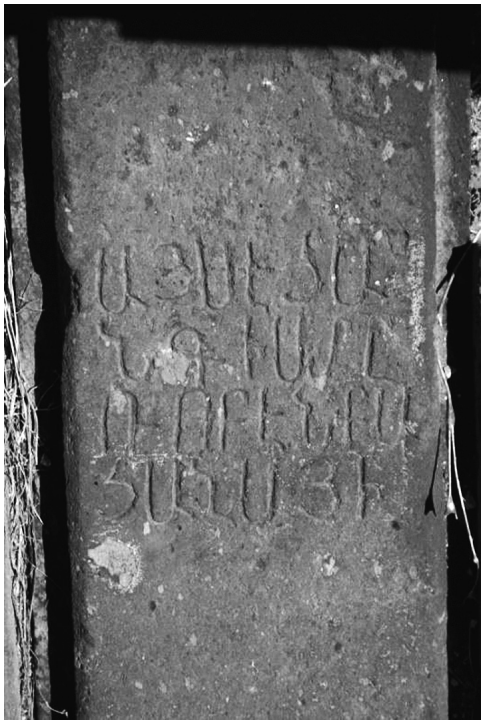


Fig. 16. The inscription on the second tomb, which reads "Here is the resting place of Ṙoben Kʿahana…" (Photo: Steven Sim).

Fig. 17. A photo of the same tombs, as seen in this photo taken in 2007 (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 18. Looking south, a close-up view of the remains of Ani's citadel (Photo: Author).

Fig. 19. Ani. The remains of the mausoleum of Prince Apłłarip Pahlawuni's family, completed in 1040. To the immediate right of this structure is the Church of St. Gregory (Photo: Author).

Fig. 20. The tomb of Prince Vahram Pahlawuni (d. 1045), next to the monastery of Marmašēn in the Širak province of Armenia. The slab with the inscription was mounted atop the tomb in the nineteenth century (Photo: Steven Sim).

Fig. 21. A general view from the south of the monastic complex of Hoṙomos, ca. 1911. The churches of Sts. George and Minas, as well as the single nave chapel on the far left of the photo, are seen in the foreground. This photo is found in a collection held at the History Museum of Armenia in Erevan (Photo: Virtualani.org).

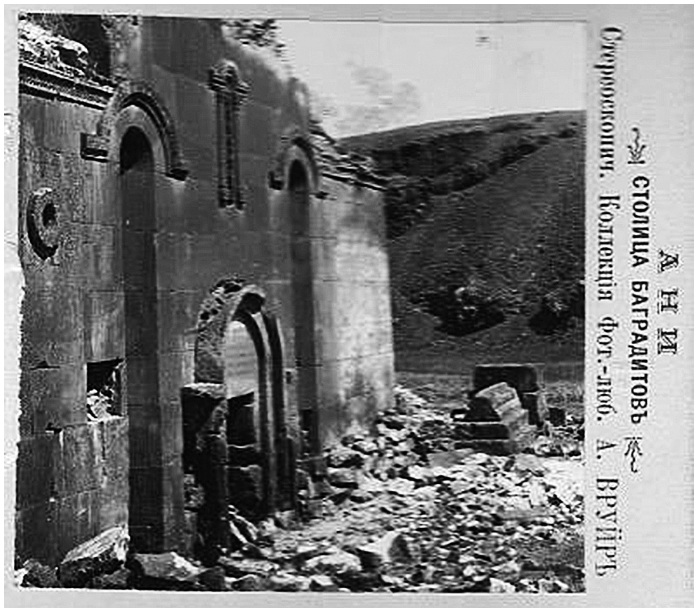


Fig. 22. A view of the south wall of the Church of St. George. The sarcophagus seen on the right was not the one commonly identified as belonging to Ašot III. This stereograph was produced in the early 1900s by Aram Vruyr as a part of the "Vues du Caucase" series of postcards (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 23. The churches of Sts. George and Minas, as seen in this photo taken in 1991 (Virtualani.org).

Fig. 24. A closer view of the Church of St. George. Note that the tomb seen in Fig. 22 has vanished (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 25. The ruined chapel, slightly to the east of St. George, as seen in 1991 (Photo: Virtualani.org).

Fig. 26. An engraving of the purported tomb of Ašot III, completed in the nineteenth century and before the Russian annexation of Kars in 1877-78 (Photo: Ł. Ališan, *Širak, tełagrutʿiwn patkeracʿoycʿ* [Venice, 1881]).

Fig. 27. Armenian villagers sitting atop Ašot III's tomb and the chapel adjacent to it. This engraving was made in the 1890s by Aram Vruyr and published in the journal *Araks* (Photo: Steven Sim).

Fig. 28. A closer view of the same tomb. The man sitting down with the stick is the Armenian artist Martiros Saryan and the man above him with the black hat is Hovsepʿ Orbeli (Photo: Virtualani.org).

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